

PLO chief promises to step up terrorism

Post Arab Affairs Reporter and news agencies
The PLO is planning to escalate the "armed struggle" in the territories in anticipation of an Israeli crackdown there following the elections, a top PLO official was quoted as saying yesterday.

Jordan, however, has asked the PLO to refrain from hardening its position even if the Likud assumes power in Israel, a senior Jordanian official said.

Salah Khalaf, known as Abu Iyad, the PLO's number-two man, told the Kuwaiti daily *Al-Wakeel* that the PLO was bracing itself for "increased repression" by Israel in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

"Armed struggle will be stepped up, together with political action in the occupied territories," Khalaf said.

"The recent Israeli elections mean that [those] who govern Israel over the next four years will be religious extremists calling for expulsion and the transformation of the occupied territories into land free of non-Jewish elements," he said.

"The Palestinian leadership is now preparing to escalate the Palestinian struggle in the occupied territories to confront fascist extremism in the Zionist entity," he said.

Palestinian declaration 'lowest common denominator'

BACKGROUND
Elaine Ruth Fletcher

The draft Palestinian declaration of independence printed Friday in the East Jerusalem newspaper *Al-Fajr* is probably the same text that will be presented for approval to the Palestinian National Council in Algiers this Saturday, says a leading Israeli expert on the PLO.

"It seems to me to be a final text because it represents the lowest common denominator between all of the different PLO factions," said Dr. Matti Steinberg of the Hebrew University's Davis Institute for International Relations.

The four-point declaration proclaims the establishment of a Palestinian state "on the soil of Palestine, with Jerusalem as its capital... on the basis of UN Resolution 181, issued in 1947."

The crucial reference to the 1947 partition resolution is a "two-sided" statement intended to satisfy PLO radicals as well as moderates, Steinberg noted.

"The reference implies acceptance of an Israeli state alongside a Palestinian state, but it also suggests that the 1947 boundaries would be the starting point for Arab-Israeli negotiations instead of the post-1967 lines," said Steinberg.

One of the outstanding questions is whether Security Council Resolution 242 which recognizes Israel should be mentioned, and if so, in what context.

"In all the past PNC meetings there has been a complete rejection of 242," said Steinberg. "Now the question is whether they will accept versions offered by Yasser Arafat in September at the European Parliament in Strasbourg."

Another unresolved issue involves when and how the PLO should establish a provisional government, Steinberg said. PLO radicals oppose the creation of a government now, fearing their armed struggle against Israel would be transformed into a diplomatic one.



Premier Shamir and Vice Premier Peres sit together at yesterday's cabinet session as members of the interim government which will stay in power until a new government is formed. (Rahamim Israeli)

Rabin, Sharon exchange insults

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Correspondent

Industry Minister Ariel Sharon and Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin exchanged insults in the weekly cabinet session yesterday, each declaring the other unfit to serve as defence minister.

The verbal scuffle was generated by a question by Minister-without-Portfolio Yigael Hurvitz, who wished to know why photographers had been prevented from publishing film of the charred bus that was firebombed in Jericho last week. A young mother and her three young children died in the blaze.

Chief of General Staff Dan Shomron was about to reply when Rabin interjected: "It was my decision to bar photographers."

Hurvitz queried whether that decision had been wise. Rabin replied that he had restricted photographers after the *mukhtar* of Kabatya village was lynched by a local mob because he had cooperated with the Israeli authorities, and nobody had questioned his decision.

Sharon: "Not so. I spoke up and asked why photography had not been permitted."

Rabin: "Yes, but the responsibility rests with me."

Sharon: "Responsibility is not just what you say; it's what you do or don't do."

Rabin: "You, Arik, are the only

cabinet minister in this country ever to have been disqualified from holding the defence portfolio" [by the Kahan commission of enquiry into the 1982 Sabra and Shatilla massacre].

Sharon said the Kahan commission had not disqualified him from holding the defence post in the future, and told Rabin that he should be disqualified, because of his failure to quell the year-old violence in the administered territories. "Any one who has failed to protect the lives of Jews for a whole year should not be in charge of Israel's security," he said.

Rabin: "Whatever you say doesn't reach me ankle-high."

Bush holds last-minute lead as Dukakis gaining support

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The U.S. presidential race has heated up in frantic last-minute campaigning with polls still giving Republican George Bush a healthy lead but showing Democrat Michael Dukakis gaining support.

A CBS/New York Times poll showed Dukakis cutting Bush's lead by 8 per cent from 13 per cent last week. Bush was given 48 per cent to Dukakis's 40 per cent.

The poll of 1,425 probable voters also found nearly a quarter of them still undecided and late deciders going to Dukakis 66 per cent to 44 per cent for Bush.

A separate CBS poll on Friday showed Dukakis cutting Bush's lead by 7 per cent.

Dukakis grew increasingly harsh in a final bid for an upset victory, repeatedly accusing Bush of running on a campaign of distortions and lies. But James Baker, Bush's campaign chairman, said the Dukakis

campaign had produced 20 negative commercials against Bush and had broadcast most of them. "These guys can dish it out but they can't take it," Baker said.

Dukakis also accused the Bush camp of trying to frighten Hispanic Texans out of voting by warning in radio commercials of jail penalties for voting fraud. Dukakis depends on a heavy Hispanic vote to win Texas.

Speaking in Spanish and English during a stop in Edinburg, Texas, Dukakis said, "The only purpose of those ads is to scare you into not voting."

He accused Bush of conducting "the most cynical and the most hypocritical campaign I've ever seen."

Although the popular vote is getting closer, most surveys give Bush about 220 of the 270 electoral college votes needed to become president and give Dukakis 100.

IAF hits Sidon targets

By KENNETH KAPLAN
Post Defence Reporter and news agencies

The Air Force yesterday attacked and destroyed a terrorist target on the northern edge of Sidon, military sources said. Lebanese sources identified the target as the shop of a boat dealer suspected of links to Palestinian terrorists.

Reports from Sidon said five people were wounded, two of them seriously, when four Cobra attack helicopters blasted the building and a citrus grove near it with eight wire-guided rockets shortly after 4 p.m.

The IDF said the aircraft destroyed the target, which had served as a base for launching terror attacks and storing weapons. All aircraft returned safely to base, the military sources said.

A Lebanese police spokesman said the shopowner, Mahmoud Hijazi, was suspected of renting two motorboats to PLO terrorists and selling them spare parts. The boats were thought to have been used to smuggle arms to the Rashidiyah refugee camp near Tyre, which has been harassed by Shi'ite Amal militiamen.

"We've had our suspicions that Hijazi's motorboats have been used by the PLO to smuggle arms," the spokesman said. "There's no other explanation for attacking his shop."

SLA kills Palestinian gunmen

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

ROSH HANIKRA - Three Palestinians, who had apparently intended to attack civilian targets in Israel, were killed by South Lebanese Army troops yesterday afternoon near the northern border of the security zone in South Lebanon.

The clash occurred along the coast about 1 km north of Nakoura, when a SLA patrol spotted a terrorist trying to fire an RPG (rocket-propelled grenade).

The SLA soldiers opened fire, killing the gunman. Following a widespread search, the SLA troops discovered the hiding-place of two more terrorists who were also killed in a short but fierce gunfight. There were no SLA casualties.

The gunmen are believed to have come from refugee camps in the Sidon area. They travelled down the coast in three rubber dinghies, but apparently came ashore in the wrong place, mistaking it for Israeli territory, which has happened in the past.

The terrorists, dressed in diving suits, were equipped with two RPG's, two Kalashnikov rifles and ammunition.

By last night, no organization had claimed responsibility for the infiltration attempt.

Aguda-Shas feud stymies coalition

Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir, who needs all 18 Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox mandates to form a government, was dealt a body blow yesterday when the bitter antipathy between Agudat Yisrael, on the one hand, and Degel Hatorah and Shas, on the other, spilled over dramatically into the political arena, with each reluctant to join a coalition of which its rival is a member.

As President Herzog today begins consultations with the parties to determine which can form a government, Shas will seek to defer its meeting with Herzog, so that its Council of Tora Sages gains another couple of days to rule on whether the party's talks with Labour have produced satisfactory answers to the party's demands.

Labour's Shimon Peres yesterday continued his negotiations with all three ultra-Orthodox parties despite increasingly vocal demands within Labour by those who see the talks as a humiliating process that will only strengthen the leverage of the non-Zionist ultra-Orthodox.

The meetings took place after an apparent order by Rabbi Eliezer Schach, a patron of Shas and the unquestioned spiritual leader of Degel Hatorah, that these parties investigate the possibility of joining a Labour-led government.

While it seems highly unlikely that the Aguda, supported by the hawkish Lubavitcher Rebbe, could join Labour, the parties led by the dovish Schach have no real ideological opposition to Labour's peace agenda.

Shas may have more to gain as the only religious partner in a Labour coalition than as one of four religious parties joining Likud. This may remain so even if Degel Hatorah also joins Labour, since it is so far unclear whether this new two-man faction is demanding any ministries.

Compiled from reports by Dan Petreanu, Haim Shapiro, Michal Yudeiman, David Rudge, Judy Siegel and Joshua Brilliant

Although it is unclear what Labour has promised Shas, it is widely believed that the six-seat faction may stand to gain the Interior, Education, and Religious Affairs portfolios if it joins Labour.

In what may have been a desire to undermine its rivals a source within the Aguda yesterday told *The Jerusalem Post* that the negotiations between Aguda and the Alignment are still very intensive and that what were seen as the two major obstacles to such a coalition, amendment of the Law of Return and a guarantee concerning the inviolability of the Land of Israel, may now be overcome. The Aguda team will meet again with Labour tomorrow.

But a source close to Schach told *The Post* that it was these two points, neither of which is crucial to Schach, that had convinced him that Aguda would be unable to join with Labour and made him feel that an approach to by Shas and Degel Hatorah was now opportune.

In a meeting that ended at 11.30 last night, Degel Hatorah representatives told Labour that they were

closer to the left than to Likud on diplomatic issues. The Degel team is now scheduled to confer with Schach before deciding on further meetings.

But despite these developments, Yitzhak Shamir is certain he will form the next government and intends to complete the job by the end of this week, sources close to the prime minister told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday. He is continuing the momentum of intensive meetings and contacts with the religious parties, they said.

In light of the renewed possibility of a Labour-led coalition, the Citizens' Rights Movement reversed its position on the issue and came out in favour of continued talks. MK Dedi Zucker told *The Post* that the party favours the negotiations "as long as there is a reasonable chance that they [the religious parties] are sincere and the talks may be successful. What has changed since last week is the estimation of these chances."

Shamir, it was learned, was not shocked by Shas's apparent turnabout. "This is not unusual. They want to keep all their options open, as well as exert pressure. From their point of view, it makes sense," sources said. "It will make things more difficult for Likud, but ultimately they'll go with us, not Labour."

Sources cited Shas leader Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz's charge that the Likud had broken its promises to his party as less a reason for the party's espousal of Labour and more a means of pressure on the Likud.

Heads of the three Arab or Arab-dominated parties yesterday indicated (Continued on Back Page)

How the numbers game changed

ANALYSIS
Menachem Shalev

IT TOOK exactly four days for the widely-accepted scenario of a Likud-religious coalition, which would be easily assembled in a matter of days, to fall apart at the seams.

The term "bloc", which was freely applied in recent days, is turning out to be the least apt term to describe the religious/haredi and right wing groups of parties. The Likud now realizes that at this point in time, it is incapable of pinning down either Rafael Eitan's Tsomet, or the parties affiliated with Rabbi Eliezer Schach - Shas and Degel Hatorah.

Although the two big parties are talking of portfolios and government guidelines, their sights are actually set on the first hurdle facing the coalition builder - the appointment by the president.

If Shimon Peres succeeds in getting the first nod from Herzog, he will have dramatically changed the political psychology which has gov-

erned the coalition talks since last Tuesday's elections. More importantly, perhaps, Peres desperately needs even the semblance of possible success in order to temporarily defuse what Labour sources are freely describing as the inevitable party *intifada*, currently scheduled to burst at the upcoming Labour Bureau meeting on Thursday.

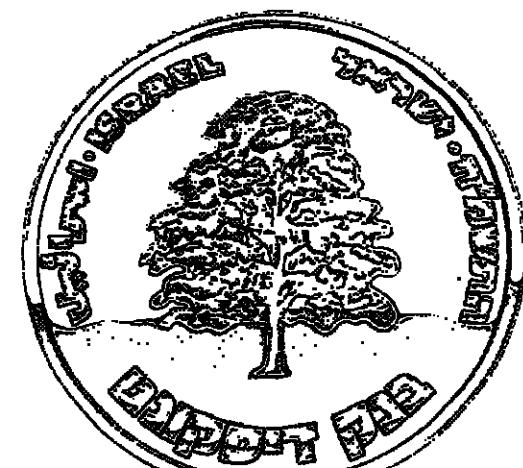
55 MK's are sure to ask Herzog to pick Peres. These include the Labour/Left bloc and the Arab/Communist bloc, including the surprisingly hesitant former Labour MK Abdel Wahab Daroushe. 50 MK's are sure to ask the president to choose Shamir - the Likud, Tehiya, Moledet, and the National Religious Party. Agudat Yisrael, which

yesterday joined the hard-to-get games of Shas and Degel Hatorah, is also expected to ultimately ask for Shamir, bringing the Likud's total to 55 as well.

In the middle stand the 10 MK's of Shas, Degel Hatorah and Tsomet, whose preference remains unpredictable, and who might decide to opt out altogether from picking any one of the two.

The election results with their surge of *haredi* power have not changed the fact that for Rabbi Eliezer Schach, the battle against whom he has described as "the apostate" - the Lubavitcher Rebbe - is much more crucial than the question of who will be the next prime minister. Keeping the Lubavitcher-sponsored Aguda out of a coalition - any coalition - justifies extreme measures, even coalition talks with Labour and its hated allies to the left. (Continued on Back Page)

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With THE JERUSALEM POST of Tuesday, November 9, 1988.

The weather at major Swissair destinations

	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	-3	27	Clear
BRUSSELS	-1	24	Clear
BUEENOS AIRES	18	27	Clear
CHICAGO	12	14	Rain
COPENHAGEN	-4	26	Clear
FRANKFURT	-4	22	Clear
GENEVA	-3	27	Clear
HELSINKI	0	22	Cloudy
HONG KONG	18	24	Clear
JORDANESBURG	10	20	Clear
LONDON	16	21	Clear
MADRID	17	23	Clear
MONTREAL	0	22	Clear
NEW YORK	7	18	Clear
OSLO	-4	20	Clear
PARIS	-1	20	Clear
RIO DE JANEIRO	17	23	Clear
SAO PAULO	12	24	Clear
STOCKHOLM	4	20	Clear
TOKYO	10	19	Clear
TORONTO	3	27	Clear
VIENNA	4	24	Clear
ZURICH	-2	28	Clear

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy, rain expected in the north of the country

	Yesterday's Minimum	Today's Maximum
Jerusalem	12	19
Golan	13	20
Nahariya	16	24
Safed	11	18
Haifa Port	16	24
Tiberias	13	25
Afula	13	25
Sharon	17	21
Tel Aviv	16	24
B-G Airport	15	23
Jericho	16	28
Dead Sea	16	28
Beersheba	13	24
Eilat	17	28

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

A dinner in honour of Weizmann Institute Chancellor Lord Sieff of Birmpton was given at the institute last night by Murray B. Kofler, chairman of the Board of Governors.

The Sir Charles Clore Prize and the Sir Charles Clore Post-doctoral Fellowships were awarded yesterday, in a ceremony at the Weizmann House, presided over by the president of the Weizmann Institute of Science, Prof. Aryeh Dvoretzky, and in the presence of Mr. Yehuda Avner, representing Ms. Vivien Clore Duffield. The Clore Prize went to the In-service Training Programme for High School Teachers of the Weizmann Institute's Science Teaching Department. Prof. Uri Michaeli, head of the Science Teaching Department, and Prof. Israel Fecht, chairman of the Committee of Scientists and Fellows, responded on behalf of the recipients. The ceremony closed with remarks by Mr. Yehuda Avner.

Madame Stella Rozan of Paris was designated an Honorary Fellow of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, at a dinner Sunday night, hosted by University President Amnon Pazy.

Judith Epstein, veteran leader of Hadassah

Judith Epstein, one of the few women to serve twice as national president of Hadassah, died of a heart attack in New York a week ago, one day before her 93rd birthday.

Until the very end, she was active in Hadassah affairs and continued to make speeches, in a clear, resonant voice, on behalf of the organization in which she believed so passionately.

Born in Worcester, Massachusetts into a family that settled in the U.S. in 1846, she became a fanatical Zionist while still in college. In 1917 she made two happy marriages that were to last a lifetime - one to her husband Moe, also a fervent Zionist, and the other to Hadassah.

She was Hadassah's national president from 1937 to 1939, when the world was moving towards World War II and the Holocaust.

She piloted Hadassah again from 1943 to 1947 - in November 1947, at the time of the UN debate on the Palestine partition proposal, she worked round the clock providing support for Moshe Shertok's (Sharett's) delegation at the UN while Hadassah lobbied for American backing for the establishment of the Jewish state.

In 1969 she was elected an honorary fellow of the Zionist General Council.

P.G.

HOME & FOREIGN NEWS

Suspect is freed, but home blown up

By JOEL GREENBERG

Jerusalem Post Reporter

JERICHO - One week ago, shortly after Yonis Takruri was arrested on suspicion of involvement in the petrol-bomb attack here on an Egged bus, IDF sappers blew up his grandmother's home, where he lived.

Late Friday, Yonis was released from the Russian Compound lockup in Jerusalem, after his interrogators concluded that he had not taken part in the attack. "You can go home," they said, though he no longer had a home to return to.

Yonis returned to find his grandmother's house a mass of twisted concrete and rubble, and his family living in neighbours' homes and Red Cross tents. Now the family says it will seek compensation from the IDF and permission to rebuild the grandmother's four-room home, which housed six people.

A total of three houses belonging to the Takruris were blown up and bulldozed, and seven family members were arrested hours after the bus attack Sunday night.

The IDF spokesman says that every one of the three houses that was demolished was the residence of a suspected terrorist still in custody. But Yonis says he was the only one arrested at his grandmother's home, and yet he was released.

The houses were blown up before the interrogations were complete, and before charges were filed. Orchard and palm trees in the area of the attack were uprooted, and roadside shacks demolished.

Yonis, a 17-year-old vocational school pupil, says he has been jailed before for throwing stones. Some relatives arrested with him also have prison records. This, and not any involvement in the bus attack, was the reason for their swift arrest, the Takruris claim.

Yonis lived at his grandmother's house since his father died and his mother remarried and moved away. He says that his brother, Jum'a, lived with him, but was arrested while visiting a great-uncle's home. It too was demolished.

"They handcuffed me and took me in a jeep to the military government building," Yonis recalled yesterday. "Later they took me to the Russian Compound, where I was kept in the isolation cell section. I was interrogated day and night for several days. They would question me for an hour, then stop for half an hour, then start again."

Home again, Yonis joined relatives as they received out-of-town visitors coming to express solidarity. The demolitions had transformed the Takruris' neighbourhood, a sleepy backwater, into a focus of nationalist sentiment.

Union Bank clerk held in \$1 million fraud case

By ANDY COURT

Jerusalem Post Reporter

When Miriam Avital sold her apartment four months ago, she put the NIS 125,000 that she received in what seemed to be the safest place: her bank.

But just recently Avital (whose real name has been withheld at her request) discovered that the money was gone from her account. In fact, bank records showed her to be NIS 70,000 in debt.

Avital, 42, of Jerusalem's Katamonim quarter was one of more than a dozen clients who came to Jerusalem Magistrates Court yesterday to attend the remand hearing of Ruth Amar, a clerk in the Jerusalem branch of Union Bank (Bank Igud).

Amar, 38, is suspected of defrauding bank clients of what police officials believe could be as much as \$1 million. Judge David Cheshin extended Amar's remand yesterday for six days.

Anxious and angry bank customers mobbed the Union Bank's office on Jaffa Road yesterday. The tension mounted as mostly middle-class people sought to determine what happened to their modest fortunes and life savings. One man with a heart condition collapsed inside the bank.

The frenzy at the bank is but the beginning of a nightmare for the bank officials charged with sorting out customers' complaints.

Aharon Feuerstein, the bank's internal auditor, said that all customers with justified claims would be compensated. But he added that bank officials will file criminal com-

plaints against anyone who tries to exploit the situation by filing bogus claim.

So far a few dozen people have filed complaints with the bank, but bank officials are at a loss to say how much money may be missing.

The situation is complicated by the nature of Amar's relationship with many of her clients. They were mostly close relatives or people who knew her well - uncles, aunts, in-laws, neighbours and friends, Feuerstein said. Many had trusted her to manage their money in the most efficient way.

"Some people would give her money outside the bank office," he said.

One year ago, Avi Ohayon, 25, of Ramat Eshkol and his wife opened a joint account at Union Bank. Ohayon says that he deposited NIS 10,000 and that every time he tried to check on the money Amar told him that the computer was not working.

When he heard of Amar's arrest on Friday, Ohayon decided to check on his investment. He discovered that he had an overdraft of NIS 10,000. When he examined the receipt Amar gave him at the time of the deposit, he saw that it did not bear the bank's stamp.

Similar tales abounded yesterday. One man said that he had NIS 36,000 in his account a week ago. Since then, he claimed, he has withdrawn no money. His balance is currently 22 agorot.

A woman said that she had an empty, inactive account that now

has an overdraft of NIS 17,000. How, she asked, could bank officials allow an account to reach such a level without even communicating with the account holder?

And then there are people like Avital, who went to Amar's house before she was arrested and said she would not leave until she received at least some of her money back. Avital is now holding a personal check, signed by Amar, for NIS 40,000.

Needless to say, the check bounced.

Amar, who is married with two young children, has worked for the bank for over 15 years, most recently as a clerk in charge of bonds.

At yesterday's remand hearing, police investigator Novi Dubov said that Amar is suspected of cheating clients "for at least two years." The police have checked her bank accounts, but have not found any of the money that she allegedly stole from her clients, Dubov said.

But Amar's lawyer, Yehoshua Kramer, argued that there is no secret cache of money. "The loss of the money is the result of the rise and fall of the financial markets," Kramer said.

When people saw their investments dwindle, they blamed Amar instead of blaming themselves for investing unwisely, he suggested.

Judge Cheshin extended Amar's remand for six days, instead of the 15 days requested by the police, largely because Kramer pointed out that Amar has a four-year-old child who suffers from a respiratory disease and needs her assistance.



Suspected embezzler Ruth Amar in custody yesterday. (Rahamim Israeli)

Teachers agree to halt sanctions

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV - All elementary and secondary school teachers are to receive an advance of 45 per cent of their current salaries with their November salary, payable on December 1. The payment will be on account of the 1988 wage agreement which is still being negotiated.

As a result, the Association of Secondary School Teachers announced yesterday that it would suspend the sanctions it had been applying. It added, however, that it reserved the right to renew the sanctions if an agreement is not reached soon.

NRP got 8,000 votes from Arabs and Druse

TEL AVIV (Itim) - The National Religious Party won 8,000 votes in the Knesset elections in the Arab and Druse sectors, the party announced yesterday. In the village of Fureidis near Zichron Ya'akov it won 25 per cent of the vote.

Party activists Tawfik Haj Awad and Saleh Bader explain this Arab and Druse support for a hawkish Jewish Orthodox party by its emphasizing of religious and educational issues in the campaign, which concern many Arabs, too.

Germans mark Kristallnacht anniversary

KOENIGSTEIN - West Germans yesterday began marking the 50th anniversary of Kristallnacht, calling to mind how the brutal night of terror led to the Holocaust. One of the first ceremonies took place in this picturesque town, located a half-hour's drive north of Frankfurt. Local residents placed a wreath at the site where the synagogue was burned down.

Over the next few days, there will be hundreds of local gatherings, panel discussions and exhibitions throughout the country. The major memorial meeting takes place in Frankfurt on Wednesday.

East Germans have been having Kristallnacht ceremonies for several weeks, emphasizing how both Communists and Jews were persecuted by the Nazis.

The night of terror started on November 9, 1938, as Nazis burned synagogues, destroyed Jewish businesses, beat up Jews, and sent

30,000 people to concentration camps. The Nazis themselves dubbed the night of terror Kristallnacht - "Crystal Night" - because of the shards of broken glass that filled the streets.

Josef Foeschepoth, the general secretary of West Germany's Societies for Christian-Jewish cooperation, noted that Kristallnacht marked "the start of a new phase, the phase of the physical annihilation of the Jews." Historians agree that Kristallnacht was the first major step in the Holocaust.

"Throughout the entire Reich that night, 91 Jews met their death under the sticks, boots and bullets of the death squads of the Nazi movement," Foeschepoth told a gathering in Koenigstein. At least 195 synagogues and about 7,500 Jewish businesses were either destroyed or badly damaged. Some estimates put the number of vandalized synagogues at more than 1,100.

West Germany's Bundestag will hold a ceremony on Thursday.

A dispute over whether West Germany's Jewish community leader should address the national Parliament as part of the government ceremonies has been threatening to overshadow the anniversary ceremonies.

Heinz Galinski, the head of West Germany's Jewish community and an Auschwitz survivor has been at the centre of the controversy.

"It would have looked good for the reputation of West Germany if one of those directly affected, one of the former persecution victims, had been given the opportunity to say a public word from such a podium on that day, especially because of the significance of that day," Galinski said last Wednesday.

So far, Galinski has not been invited, and he has said he hopes the dispute does not overshadow the significance of the events.

At least one West German newspaper found that knowledge of Kristallnacht was lacking, as it reported on the results of a poll a junior high school teacher conducted of her students in the Main-Kinzig area north of Frankfurt.

One of the students said the name Kristallnacht came from a huge society ball in Vienna, while 16 students had absolutely no idea of the significance, according to Saturday's editions of the *Taunus Zeitung* newspaper.

In Austria, Jewish leaders and city officials unveiled five plaques to commemorate Kristallnacht, when 49 synagogues in Vienna alone were ransacked or burned down.

In the Paris suburb of Drancy, a Kristallnacht memorial in the form of a cattle car - such as was used to transport Drancy Jews to Auschwitz and Birkenau - was erected near the monument to the town's Holocaust victims. (AP, Reuters)

'Times' raps Wisenthal Centre

German historian re-invited to Oxford

By DAVID HOROVITZ

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON - The German historian whose invitation to lecture at Oxford was withdrawn because of his controversial views of the Holocaust, is to speak at the university after all.

Prof. Ernest Nolte of the Free University of Berlin was invited to participate in Wolfson College Oxford's series of guest lectures next spring, contributing a talk on the relationship between the Russian Revolution and the rise of fascism and Nazism. But the invitation was

subsequently cancelled, provoking a furious row at the college, after some staff members complained.

Dr. Raymond Klibansky, a Jew who fled Nazi Germany, said Nolte was totally unsuitable, because of his contention that the Nazi atrocities were not a unique phenomenon, but part of a chain of atrocities that started in the Russian gulags and went on to Vietnam.

Now, however, three other Oxford professors have invited Nolte to lecture early next year on "The European Civil War 1917-1945."

One of the three, Adam Roberts,

said Nolte had been invited because although he aroused strong feelings, there was a danger in "denying freedom of academic expression on account of the possibility that there might be demonstrations or disruptions."

Meanwhile yesterday, *The Sunday Times* published details of its own investigation into the Wiesenthal Centre's list of 17 alleged Nazi war criminals here, and reported that at least five of them were dead, and that there was "little or no direct evidence" against any of them.

The list of names, hitherto unpublished, is currently being investigated by an independent government inquiry. *The Sunday Times* charged that the Wiesenthal Centre had named alleged Nazis on the basis of "inadequate research," and warned that it "may incriminate innocent people."

Wiesenthal Centre officials, however, have continually stressed that it is up to the British government to investigate the list. It has never claimed to have incontrovertible evidence against any of the alleged Nazis here.

Polish tourism office to be set up in Tel Aviv

By GREER FAY CASHMAN

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WARSAW - A further step towards normalization of relations between Poland and Israel will be taken in the near future, when Orbis the Polish national tourist organization, opens

an office in Tel Aviv.

Later in 1989, Lot, the Polish national air carrier, which already has an office in Israel, plans to begin flying there again after a hiatus of more than half a century.

In Poland, Orbis owns and manages hotels, operates tours, and handles hotel and transport reservation services, conventions, information, passport and visa arrangements and currency exchange. In Israel, Orbis will only provide information and conduct public relations.

The office, which will open at the end of this year or the beginning of next, will be on the premises of the Polish PKO Bank in Rehovot.

So far this year, 3,500 Israelis have visited Poland.

Israel Prize to be awarded to new head of Weizmann

Jerusalem Post Staff

REHOVOT - Prof. Haim Harari, a theoretical physicist was yesterday unanimously elected eighth president of the Weizmann Institute. He succeeds Prof. Aryeh Dvoretzky, who held the post for the past three years.

It was also announced yesterday in Jerusalem that Harari had been awarded the Israel Prize for the Exact Sciences for the current Hebrew year, together with Prof. Yakir Aharonov a Tel Aviv University physicist. The two prizes will be awarded the recipients next Independence Day.

Harari, 48, is a world-recognized authority in particle physics, an area in which he has published over 110 papers. He has served as visiting professor at Stanford, Cornell, Harvard, the University of California, Rockefeller University, the Hebrew University, the Fermi National Laboratory, and the European Centre for Nuclear Research.

Active in public life for many years, Harari's most significant post has been chairman of the Planning and Grants Committee of Israel's Council for Higher Education, which is in charge of allocating government funds to the various institutions of higher learning, as well as charting the development of higher education in general.

In that post Harari has frequently warned that the continuing reduction in government support for higher education could lead to disaster. "What is at stake is not merely the



Haim Harari (Aliza Auerbach)

future of higher education and scientific research, but the future of Israel itself. Israel has no chance of developing and prospering if it is not in the front ranks of science and culture," he said recently.

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ABRIDGED FINANCIAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER 1987

A. ABRIDGED DATA OF THE HEAD OFFICE (in thousands of French Francs)
ABRIDGED BALANCE SHEETS AS AT 31st DECEMBER 1987

Investments	19,571,863	Capital, Funds and Surplus	2,875,683
Fixed Assets	4,054,384	Reserve for Unexpired Risks	4,617,394
Other Assets	8,705,728	In General Insurance, Net	20,050,644
		Outstanding Claims, Net	5,388,284
		Other liabilities	
			32,741,975

32,741,975

DETAILS OF INSURANCE BUSINESS AND REVENUE FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER 1987

General Insurance Premiums (Gross)	17,830,206
Loss on General Insurance	298,345
Income from Investments less Deduction of Expenses not Debited to Business Account	689,127
Tax on Profit	6,297
Net Profit	384,485

B. DETAILS OF GENERAL INSURANCE BUSINESS IN ISRAEL
Adjusted for the effect of inflation (in Thousands M.L.S.) (Note 1)

GENERAL INSURANCE BUSINESS AND REVENUE FOR THE YEAR 1987	
Premiums and Registration Fees in General Insurance	1,877
Loss on General Insurance	48
Income from Investments	5
Erosion of Monetary Assets	8
Business Loss	49

SUMMARY OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES AT 31st DECEMBER 1987

Liabilities in Israel	975
Approved Investments in Israel	1,152
Surplus of Approved Investments	177
Unapproved Investments in Israel	

NOTES

- The Company commenced its business in Israel in 1987.
- Full detailed Statement of Accounts with the Auditor's remarks will be shown on request at the Company's office, 118 Albany Road, Tel Aviv, Phone: 03-649444.
- The above publication is made in accordance with the Insurance Supervision Act - 5741 - 1981.

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News in Brief

Earthquake hits China

STRASBOURG — A major earthquake measuring 7.5 on the Richter scale hit the border region between China and Burma yesterday, the Euro-Mediterranean Seismological Centre here reported. A tremor of such magnitude is liable to cause serious damage. The centre gave no other details. AFP

Typhoon gains strength

MANILA — Typhoon Skip gained strength yesterday as it approached the Philippines, and forecasters warned it was headed along the same path as Typhoon Ruby, a storm which killed hundreds of people here two weeks ago. It was predicted that Skip would hit the island of Samar late yesterday and, if it stayed on course, it would strike Manila and Clark Air Base, 80km. north of Manila, late tomorrow or early Wednesday. AFP

Hirohito weighs 25kg.

TOKYO — Emperor Hirohito now weighs only 25 kilograms or little more than half his weight when he fell ill seven weeks ago, diplomatic sources said here yesterday citing Imperial Household Agency officials. The 87-year-old emperor has lost 15 to 20 kilograms since he fell ill and vomited blood on September 19, the sources said. His condition worsened yesterday and he was given blood transfusions. AFP

France detonates device

WELLINGTON — France has detonated a nuclear device with an estimated 50 kilotonne yield at its South Pacific test site, New Zealand scientists said yesterday. The test on Saturday at Mururoa atoll was the 101st recorded in an underground series that began in 1975. Another small test was recorded on October 26. Reuters

Guy Fawkes incidents

LONDON — A 12-year-old boy died on Saturday night after a fuel drum exploded at a Guy Fawkes bonfire in Scotland, the Central Scotland Fire Brigade said. Emergency services were busy across Britain as the traditional bonfires and fireworks commemorating the Gunpowder Plot were marred by accidents. London Fire Brigade said it had 1,400 incidents; more than double the number on a normal day. AP

Raphael Bronstein, 93

NEW YORK — Raphael Bronstein, who taught more than 1,000 violinists during his 65-year career, died of a stroke at St. Luke's Hospital on Friday. He was 93. He was on the faculties of the Manhattan School of Music, Queens College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York until his death. Born in the Soviet Union, Bronstein was a child prodigy and eventually studied with Leopold Auer at the St. Petersburg Conservatory. He came to the U.S. in 1923. AP

Three teachers killed

DIYARBAKIR, Turkey — Kurdish rebels bombed a hotel in south-eastern Turkey yesterday, killing three village teachers and wounding another, officials said. Guerrillas of the Marxist Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) surrounded the hotel in Mardin province, about 20km. from the Syrian border, and hurled several bombs through the windows, the officials said. Reuters

Dogs see psychologist

LONDON — Queen Elizabeth II's pet corgi dogs are being treated by an animal psychologist because of their bad record in nipping members of the royal household. The Mail on Sunday reported. Buckingham Palace refused to comment on the report. The paper said guardsmen, policemen, footmen and even the royal clookwinder have all fallen prey to the corgis' nips. AP

Population doubles

PEKING — China's urban population has doubled in less than 10 years from 200 million in 1979 to 400 million today, the People's Daily said yesterday. The rapid increase in the number of town dwellers had caused serious transport and housing shortages and led to a steep rise in crime, the Communist Party newspaper said. AFP

Priest fires at PM

PORT LOUIS — A Hindu priest fired two shots at Mauritian Prime Minister Sir Anerood Jugnauth yesterday, missing his target but wounding a bodyguard. The 68-year-old priest was overpowered by police at the Arya Samaj Temple in Trefles, 10km. from here, where Jugnauth was attending a Hindu celebration. There was no immediate indication of a motive for the assassination attempt against Jugnauth, who is a Hindu. Reuters

Walesa threatens nationwide strike

WARSAW (Reuters) — Lech Walesa threatened on Sunday to call a nationwide strike alert — ready to strike at a signal — if the Polish government did not suspend moves to close the shipyard where his banned Solidarity union was born, Solidarity sources said.

Walesa told a rally of about 2,000 people in Gdansk he would seek a strike alert on Tuesday if the government did not suspend its decision to shut down the port's Lenin shipyard on December 1. He suggested he might call for walkouts the following Tuesday. "If by this coming Tuesday a decision on the shipyard is not taken...I, Lech Walesa, will propose a nationwide strike alert," the sources quoted Walesa, who

works as an electrician at the yard, as saying.

"If this does not bring a solution, at a rally a week from Tuesday I shall appeal for the strike alert to be carried out. After all, a strike is still cheaper than a lack of reforms," the Solidarity leader told the rally outside a Gdansk church.

He did not make clear if the strike alert would apply only to shipyard workers or if other workers would be involved.

The government announced last Monday that it would close the loss-making, heavily-subsidized Lenin Shipyard on economic grounds as part of its plans to streamline industry.

Walesa has said the move was politically motivated and the workers

have pledged to fight the closure which they say is unjustified economically.

"I can barely control the tension and pressure erupting in Gdansk and Poland," Walesa was quoted as saying. "I can keep it under wraps no longer than Tuesday."

Walesa said the shipyard, where strikes in 1980 gave rise to the communist world's first independent trade union, must be defended at all costs. Many workers see it as a symbol of opposition.

The row over the closure order is the latest obstacle to round-table talks offered by the government to try to forge a national coalition to break reform and solve economic crisis.

Walesa says he will not agree to meet Interior Minister General Czeslaw Kiszczak to unblock the stalled talks, which were due to start on October 17, until the government suspends the closure decision.

"We will get our yard back sooner or later, if not now then after the battle to which things must surely lead. If you win with your runcheons and tanks, you'll win for no more than six months," Walesa added.

"For we will mount another struggle and my sons will take up the fight again and again. Mr (Prime Minister Mieczyslaw) Rakowski, come to your senses. It is we who will win," he was quoted as saying.

Student probed after computer 'worm' hits U.S.

ITHACA, N.Y. (Reuters) — A 23-year-old graduate student whose father is a top U.S. computer security expert is at the centre of probes into a computer "virus" that snarled thousands of computers across the U.S. last week.

Cornell University said an investigation had found unauthorized passwords — used for entering computer systems — in the computer files of Robert T. Morris Jr., studying computer science at the Ivy League university.

The FBI said it was studying whether any federal laws had been broken. A Cornell spokesman said FBI agents had visited the picturesque campus in upstate New York.

Robert T. Morris Sr. is a specialist at the National Security Agency's Computer Security Centre in Bethesda, Maryland, the government agency that protects NSA computers against sabotage. He told a television station on Saturday that his

son, who was at home, would probably make no comment before today.

M. Stuart Lynn, Cornell vice president for information technologies, said Morris's files appeared to contain passwords giving unauthorized access to some university computers. "We also have discovered that Morris's account contains a list of passwords substantially similar to those found in the virus," he told a news conference on Saturday.

The "virus" — an unauthorized programme slipped into a computer system — wreaked havoc on computers nationwide when it cropped up on terminal screens in several universities on Wednesday.

Using various passwords to try to break into other systems, it replicated itself and spewed copies across Internet, a giant public network linking 60,000 terminals at 550 institutions. Six thousand computers were eventually disabled, some crashing and others shut down by

their alarmed operators.

But the Pentagon said the "virus" could not penetrate the secure computer systems backing the nation's defences, which are kept isolated.

Computer experts judged that the virus was not malicious and *The New York Times* said it had learned it was created as an intellectual challenge to explore the security of systems but a design error caused it to replicate madly out of control.

Experts said that in the evolving language of computer bugs, it should technically be termed a "worm," as it caused no damage. A virus erases computer-held material. "There doesn't seem to be any malicious intention to the programme," Phil Laspley of Berkeley told CNN television.

Dean Kraft, a Cornell research associate, said: "With the addition of a few more lines of code it could have wiped out files on all 6,000 computers."



Robert T. Morris Jr (Reuters)

Indian commandos finally smash Maldivé coup bid

MALE, Maldives — Indian commandos yesterday captured Sri Lankan mercenaries fleeing an abortive coup in the Maldives and rescued 20 hostages after an Indian warship fired at the mercenaries' crippled getaway boat, officials said.

Four other hostages were dead and three others unaccounted for, said Indian government spokesman Ramamohan Rao. He said the 46 mercenaries on board were captured during the surrender.

Mercenaries, believed linked to Tamil rebels in nearby Sri Lanka, fled on Friday aboard the 5,000-ton cargo vessel after Indian paratroopers foiled a coup attempt in the Maldives. The boat, damaged by Indian gunfire while fleeing, was chased on Saturday by two Indian frigates in the Indian Ocean as it headed toward Sri Lanka.

The warships trailed the boat as military officers tried to negotiate by radio for the release of the hostages, who included Maldivian Transport Minister Ahmed Mujithaba and his Swiss-born wife.

Officials were investigating allegations that former Maldivian President Ibrahim Nasir and his former aide, Abdullah Luthufi, instigated the Thursday coup attempt. Nasir has denied any involvement.

At a news briefing yesterday in New Delhi, an Indian naval officer said the mercenaries threw down their weapons after the frigate Godavari fired on their vessel early yesterday. Indian marine commandos then boarded the ship to separate mercenaries from hostages.

Gayoom said the captured gunmen would be brought to the Maldives for trial. Gayoom, who was whisked to safety by members of the National Security Service (NSS) when the mercenaries landed on Thursday morning, said: "We will

try them according to the laws of our country."

The Maldives still has the death penalty on the statute books, but a Maldivian journalist said he had not heard of an execution in his lifetime.

Gayoom said the final death toll in the fighting between the NSS and the mercenaries, who were Sri Lankans accompanied by disaffected Maldivian exiles, was four civilians and eight members of the security forces. He said at least three mercenaries were killed, but the attackers seemed to have taken some dead and wounded with them when they fled. "We believe the mercenaries suffered heavy casualties," he added.

He said the Maldives, one of the world's more exotic holiday haunts, was returning to normal. Indian paratroopers and NSS officers were still conducting searches.

However, many shops and offices were still closed and people said they had been advised to remain indoors as much as possible. Tourists, who spend most of their time at custom-built resorts on outlying coral atolls in the scattered island chain, were still not being permitted to visit Male, the capital of the island group located some 600 km. south of India's southern tip.

But the airport reopened for civilian flights and planes landed from Singapore, West Germany and Sri Lanka to pick up tourists whose departure was delayed by the coup attempt.

Gayoom said the Indian forces, whose arrival within 18 hours of the attack forced the mercenaries to abandon Male, were already starting to leave, but a date for their complete withdrawal had not been fixed. (AP, Reuters)

Play slams Austrian anti-Semitism

VIENNA (Reuters) — A play accusing Austrians of being anti-Semites and Nazis has opened in Vienna with a tumultuous premiere.

After the premiere of *Heldenplatz* (Heroes' Square) on Friday, a 700-strong audience packing the renowned Burgtheater jeered and cheered the cast, playwright Thomas Bernhard and director Claus Peymann for three-quarters of an hour.

Shouts of "insolence" and "God save Austria" erupted for much of

the four-hour performance, watched over by special police forces called in by the state-subsidized theatre to keep order.

Leading Austrian politicians, including President Kurt Waldheim and Foreign Minister Alois Mock, condemned the play in advance on the basis of brief extracts published in the press.

"In Austria to be a Jew means always to be condemned to death," one of the characters says.

Bald children baffle Soviet doctors

MOSCOW (Reuters) — Medical experts are baffled over a mystery disease which has made scores of children bald in Western Ukraine, a Soviet newspaper said yesterday.

A regional medical commission has decided the children from the Ukrainian town of Chernovtsi have the same disease, but they do not know what it is, the newspaper *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya* said.

"Nothing like this has happened before in medical practice in our country," Anatoly Kasyanenko, deputy health minister in the Ukraine, told the newspaper.

He said neither water, air nor food appeared to have caused the problem. Last week officials ruled out radiation from the 1986 accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station 450km. away from Chernovtsi.



An Afghan rebel displays a captured rocket-propelled grenade and shoe on a mountain-top military post overrun by the rebels near the main Kabul-Jalalabad highway. (Reuters)

Rebels fire rockets on Kabul

MOSCOW (AP) — Rebels fired three rockets into Kabul yesterday with unknown effect, the official Soviet news agency Tass reported. Tass did not say if Afghan forces returned the fire.

The Soviet Union has halted the withdrawal of more than 100,000 Soviet soldiers from Afghanistan due to such rocket attacks. On Friday, it cast doubt on whether it would meet the February 15 deadline for removing all of its troops if fighting continues.

The Soviets also recently sent missiles and warplanes to step up pressure on rebel supply bases.

Tass also said Afghanistan has sent its 113th note of protest to the UN observers in Kabul about viola-

tions of the troop withdrawal agreement.

The government-owned *Kabul Times* also reported yesterday that Pakistani fighter jets downed at least two Afghan military aircraft inside Afghan territory during the past week. It said that two Pakistani air force F16 fighters violated Afghan airspace in the Khost region on Thursday and shot down an air force jet.

A second Afghan jet, a trainer, was shot down the same day while on a training mission, the newspaper said, but gave no further details.

In Peking, China accused the Soviet Union of finding pretexts to justify halting its troop withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Algerian youths torch vehicles

ALGIERS (Reuters) — Algerian youths burnt several vehicles and disrupted traffic on Saturday in a day of disturbances in the southwestern province of el-Bayadh, the national news agency APS said on Sunday.

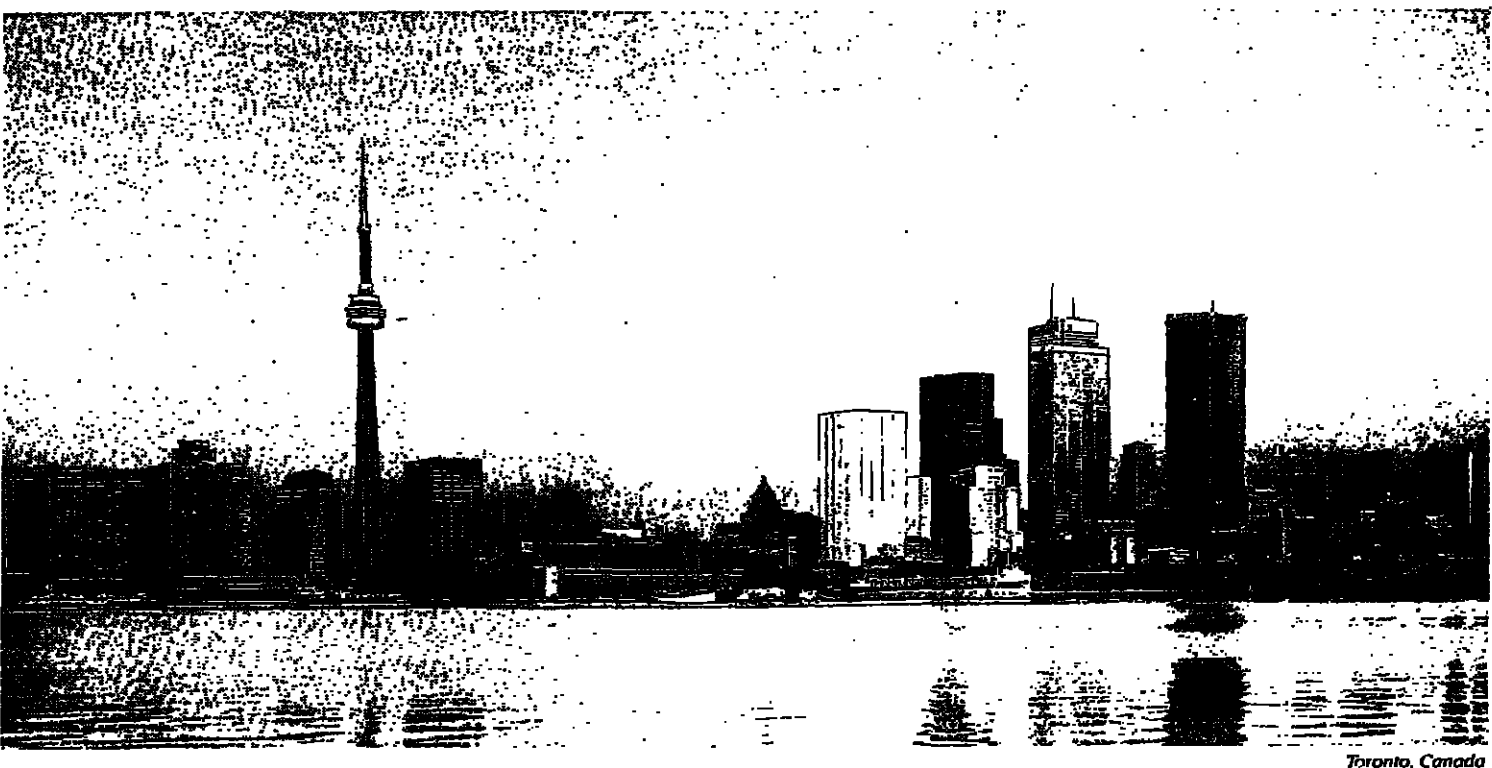
It was the first street trouble since the October 4 riots which erupted in Algiers and spread to other cities in protest against government austerity measures. A total of 161 people

were officially reported killed in the riots, which President Chadli Benjedid was able to contain after promising political reforms.

Benjedid sacked Prime Minister Abdelhamid Brahimi on Saturday and asked Health Minister Kasdi Merbah to form a new cabinet, after a referendum on Thursday approved constitutional changes.

The new government, is expected to be announced in a few days.

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Please reply in confidence to: Iel Leibler, Chairman, Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs, 11th Floor, 550 Bourke Street, Melbourne 3000, Australia, or phone 0011 613 606 0360 or fax 0011 613 602 2755.

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Coalition rabbinics

THE spectre of a virtual, and virtually assured, electoral deadlock between the Likud and the Alignment haunted more than a few Israelis before polling day last Tuesday. The question was whether a viable government could be formed out of such a deadlock.

The Alignment's Nissim Zvili and the Likud's Meir Shitrit came up with an identical prescription in the event of such an electoral stalemate. Both suggested that a new national unity government should then be set up again, but for a very short duration only, and for the sole purpose of holding a fresh Knesset election on the basis of a reformed system of parliamentary representation.

It was an eminently reasonable proposal, even though it did not carry an iron-clad guarantee that, when acted upon, it would allow a clear-cut resolution of the truly critical issues of the day. Being reasonable, however, it was dismissed out of hand by both major parties.

When finally awakened up, with a jolt, from their sleep of unreason, the Likud and the Alignment realized they were no longer facing the familiar manageable religious bloc. Before their astonished eyes there rose a bloc commanding 18 Knesset seats, which was largely, and for the first time ever, made up of the non-Zionist haredi parties.

Since these parties had already made it known that they were leaning to the nationalist right, the Likud appeared to have a much better chance than the Alignment to form a narrow coalition with them, and with its smaller ultra-nationalist allies.

Coalition-making talks were promptly inaugurated by Premier Yitzhak Shamir with the leaders of Shas, Degel Hatorah and Agudat Yisrael, and the Zionist NRP. Progress was being reported. Ministries were demanded, and more-or-less promised. But it did not take long for Mr. Shamir to discover that nothing was in the bag.

Rabbi Eliezer Schach, spiritual mentor of Shas and Degel Hatorah, instructed them to

consult Shimon Peres as well and see what agreement could be made with the Alignment. And then the new Agudat Yisrael, dominated largely by the Habad movement, followed suit. They too announced they would hold coalition talks with both the majors, without favour.

There was nothing illegitimate in that sudden switch. It is the routine tactic of small parties being courted by competing large parties. For in that way they can drive a harder bargain. But it also heightened anxiety in the non-Orthodox population.

Yet there was more to this switch than bargaining alone. At play were the bitter differences between the Haredi political parties, pitting Aguda against Shas and Degel Hatorah. Those differences make questionable the secularists' very concept of a Haredi bloc, for both these camps insist they will not sit together in the same coalition. If they stick to that resolve, both the Likud and the Alignment face a wholly new coalition arithmetic.

At the same time it also deserves saying that the argument of Haredi politicians, claiming that all they seek is to redress the hallowed status quo which has been, in their view, sorely eroded, may be fine rhetoric but no longer enjoys credibility. For that agreement, made by Ben Gurion 40 years ago to obtain Aguda political consent, was concluded in a historical context when, for example, exemption from army service embraced 400 yeshiva students and not, as today, 20,000, who receive subsidies to boot.

Admitting that their aim is to remake Israeli society by wielding the parliamentary and coalition process would be a more forthright stance by the Haredi politicians. That, however, they fear, could spark a secular backlash.

Perhaps, therefore, the very split in Haredi ranks which weakens the bargaining leverage of the individual parties, would be, if sustained, a disguised blessing for them, and certainly for society as a whole.

The sooner the better

Susan Hattis Rolef

IT SEEMS AS though no one in Israel except the supporters of the various religious parties is happy. Secular right-wingers are as worried as their left-wing brethren about the "hardization" of Israel.

Furthermore, responsible Likudniks know that whatever promises are made to the religious parties will cost Israel support within the American Jewish community, and whatever promises are made to the parties to the right of Likud will further reduce the chances for peace and complicate Israel's international situation.

Tehiya is still in a state of shock because of its poor performance in the polls, while nobody is quite sure what to make of "Gandhi." So it isn't only the liberals and left-wingers who aren't sleeping too well these nights.

Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that within a week or two, Israel will have a right-wing religious government supported by 65 Knesset members.

A majority in the Labour Party is adamantly opposed to its going into a new national unity government with all its flags folded, while it will be totally out of character for Rabin to repeat Dayan's 1977 move, as some believe he might. Besides, with Moshe Arens and Ariel Sharon breathing down his neck, what can Shamir offer Rabin?

And so the sooner the Labour Party sets about getting ready for the next four years in opposition, the better.

THESE ARE GOING to be difficult and even unpleasant years, but they are apparently unavoidable. Experience will ram down peoples' throats what they were unwilling to open their minds to. Nevertheless, we shall survive, if for no other reason than that there is no alternative.

The first thing the leaders of the opposition must do is to stop all the defeatist talk now going around. Too many people are saying that there is nothing left to do except leave the country or, alternatively, put on haredi garb.

This is the time to start thinking about how to reach the minds and hearts of the simple folk in Israel

and the enlightened sectors of the Jewish community in the Diaspora. It is the time for joining forces with members of right-wing secular circles who feel strongly about the need to contain the ultra-religious flood and strengthen the Zionist consciousness within the public — not for talking of about yertida and joking about shireimels and sheitels.

Next, it is important for the leaders of the opposition to set up a new alignment in the Knesset, preferably one composed of the Labour Party, the CRM and Mapam, to ensure that this bloc of parties is allotted the maximum possible number of chairmanships and seats in the various Knesset committees, and possibly even the position of Knesset Speaker.

Shlomo Hillel MK is a figure who enjoys the respect of all political circles (except the Kahanists, who no longer count politically), and his continued service as Speaker might command wide support.

THE LABOUR PARTY itself has some very serious thinking to do, and this should not concentrate on finding scapegoats.

It is neither those who designed the Party's election campaign strategy and tactics, nor Shimon Peres whose nervous and desperate performance during the campaign irritated many, who ought to be blamed. The campaign is history, and sooner or later Peres will be replaced. It is also not Labour's ideals and perceptions of reality that are wrong. What is lacking is a combination of wisdom and civility — *hohmat hayim vederech eretz* — and what must be changed is the *modus operandi*.

In recent months, I have been plagued by the thought that we could have got the Likud to take a more positive look at the international conference idea.

What would have happened, for example, had Shimon Peres confided in Shamir about his various moves concerning the peace pro-

cess, and invited one of the latter's confidants — perhaps one of the younger Likud MKs who were connected with the Amirav initiative — to participate in the meetings involved?

The problem is not only that Peres and other Labour leaders did not confide in, and seek the cooperation of, the Likud before embarking on various important political initiatives. They don't confide in and seek each other's cooperation!

LAST MARCH, I was in close contact with several persons from Yitzhak Rabin's entourage in connection with the situation in Gaza.

Talking one day to Shmuel Goren, the coordinator in the territories, it occurred to me that the policy the defence minister had been following was diametrically opposed in both letter and spirit to that proposed in a long position paper prepared by Peres's men before the 1984 election. It occurred to me further that not a single one of Rabin's men had been involved in the preparation of that paper, and that consequently he himself obviously did not feel committed to it in any way.

The outcome was that I asked one of Rabin's aides whether it might not be a good idea if, towards the 1988 elections, the new position paper on the territories were prepared by a joint Peres-Rabin team.

The principle appealed to him, but when I asked one of Peres's men whether he thought it might be worth giving it a try his reply was: "No, I don't think so. We shall have time to air our ideas in the platform committee."

Needless to say, the platform committee deals with the platform, not with detailed policy plans. It is said that this inclination for each personality to perform solo is part of the Ben-Gurion heritage. I am not sure whether it always worked well for Ben-Gurion; in the case of lesser mortals who do not have the power the Old Man had in his heyday, it is certainly counterproductive.

ONE OF THE interesting findings to emerge from the Labour Party's pre-election phone-call campaign was that many potential floaters from the right felt that the Labour Party is more concerned about its own organizations and institutional frameworks than about people.

Most Labourites have not grasped that the surest way to a person's heart and confidence is making him feel welcome, and an object of respect, interest and concern. One might argue that being able to make positive human contacts is a quality that either exists or does not exist in one's nature — a quality the late Yigal Allon had and Yitzhak Rabin does not possess. However, it may hit also reflect a state of mind which, for some strange reason, is more prevalent among right-wingers and simple folk than among left-wingers and intellectuals. Or it may be the product of education.

There is no doubt that the current electoral setback will sooner or later bring about a change of leadership in the Labour Party. There are several personalities in the party who have made it quite clear that they consider themselves candidates in the contest to come.

However, rather than get involved in what may become an ugly and prolonged struggle at this particular difficult and confusing time, the Labour Party might consider selecting a leader for an interim period — someone people can identify with, and who can get the party to ask the right questions, hold serious discussions on the issues that have been swept aside in the last few years with the excuse, "This is not the right time," and prepare the ground for the inevitable changing of the guard.

Arye (Lova) Eliav, who is highly respected in all party circles despite his dovish views and years of political philandering, and who, in the eyes of friends and foes alike, represents Zionist activism at its best, might well be the ideal choice for the job. Something worth thinking about.

The writer is the editor of the Labour monthly, Spectrum.

Avoiding minority tyranny

Macabee Dean

THAT IDEALISTIC concept called democracy took another thrashing in the elections. Democracy, according to Webster's Dictionary means "a government by the people, especially the rule of the majority."

Majority rule has never prevailed in Israel; at best, we have been ruled by one "plurality," supported by several minorities needed to set up a coalition. The situation today, as in the past, is of one or two minority parties dictating policy in certain fields to the plurality, or else refusing to join the coalition, leaving the country without a government.

Thus, in specific fields of policy we have small, sometimes tiny, minority parties, which have the support of perhaps 10 per cent of the voters, dictating policy to 90 per cent of the electorate. This is not majority rule.

For example, the overwhelming majority of the voters would like, as they have done for decades, to see the conscription of an estimated 18,000 yeshiva students, yet the minority has played coalition politics successfully to prevent this. (Isn't it startling that their number is only "estimated" in this modern age, when computers can spout all sorts of facts and figures at the touch of a button?)

How many divisions could profit from 18,000 able-bodied men? Wouldn't they reduce the length of annual reserve duty by the overwhelming majority of voters by a few days?

And the majority in this case includes many of the thousands of students at the yeshivot who have proved amply that it is possible to maintain the highest precepts of Orthodoxy and learning and yet serve in the army. But these yeshiva students have a different Zionist outlook.

And if the minority parties dictate policy, it means that the plurality itself must deviate from its own programme. It must break its promises to those who voted for it.

THE SOLUTION TO the entire problem of majorities, pluralities and minorities, of course, is to change the election system. But this has been talked about for decades. Nothing has changed. Politicians like the present system, no matter how detrimental it is to the state itself.

Can anything be done in this post-election period?

Many things can. Perhaps the most democratic would be to hold a referendum, letting the voters say which election system they would prefer: the present one which may be beautiful in theory but flawed in practice, or the Anglo-American system, which may be imperfect but is much more successful in practice?

The two major parties, the Alignment and the Likud, which are almost equally balanced, would easily form an emergency coalition and settle this problem once and for all. Let the people decide for themselves. There is no reason why the politicians should decide for the people what system they want.

Another solution would be to adopt the French method of holding a second "run-off" election, in which the number of parties would be limited. Even those votes formerly cast for all those tiny parties that failed to reach the qualifying percentage might make all the difference in the world. And followers of

the small parties that did pass the qualifying percentage would undoubtedly change their votes.

THE COST OF holding another election, so soon after the present one, seems prohibitive. But even if it cost as much as the present one, it might be cheaper than having a coalition whose policy is dictated by the very junior members, then having a coalition with about 30 ministers — if not more.

For running false-front ministries also costs millions. Think of all those heads of the ministers' offices, with their directors-general, their cars and probably drivers, the secretaries, furniture, phone and mail bills, and so on. And of course, every minister worth his salt would demand a couple of trips abroad each year.

Above all, if a majority emerges from the present multitude of parties, it will at least be able to carry out the policy of the majority of the people, and not be stalemated by the present coalition system. Failure to carry out policies in time probably costs much more than holding another half-dozen elections.

The writer is a member of The Post's editorial staff.

READERS' LETTERS

SAFE DRIVING

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — We have recently received a notice from the Ministry of Transport requiring us to attend a course of lectures on driving and road skills. Our friends, who made aliya at the same time as we did and acquired Israeli driving licences, seem to have received similar notices. The course requires a total of nine hours' attendance and costs NIS 40. The letter informed us that failure to attend could result in a delay in the renewal of our licences.

The legal right of the ministry to enforce attendance seems dubious in the light of our completely clean licences since we have been here. My husband drove in England for 30 years, without a driving offence. However, if this new venture reduces the horrendous accident rate by so much as a single injury, we will be very happy to do our share.

So, can we assume that the ministry will be paralleling the instruction with a research programme to assess and compare the subsequent driving records of those drivers who have received instruction and those who have not? And further, to investigate other possible approaches to driver education, such as lessons in the car rather than in the classroom.

ANTHONY AND LYNDY WAXMAN
Jerusalem.

INADEQUATE COVERAGE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — I wonder why Israel Television gave such inadequate coverage to the Paralympic Games. Many of the Israeli athletes became disabled while defending our country. Why couldn't we have shared in the magnificent achievements of these courageous people?

MYRA KARSEBOOM
Haifa.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

The out of sight-out of mind school of thought just doesn't cut it in a country the size of Israel. Once our ground water and surface impoundments are polluted with sewage and hazardous (industrial) wastes, there is no reversing the process. Where are we going to get our drinking water from? What are we willing to pay for extensive pretreatment?

What I really find hard to believe is that in this grand election campaign of ours not one political party has mentioned, even in passing, the environmental problems that plague

our country (especially after the outbreak of polio which recently shocked the population). Is maintaining a healthy, or at least livable, environment so unimportant?

It is up to the Health Ministry to begin to educate the general public and more importantly, to draft strict rules and regulations governing sewage at all levels. In a country the size of Israel, we cannot afford to make the same mistakes that have been made in the United States. We must begin to take our sewage problems seriously or we won't have to worry about "the Arabs" destroying Israel, for we will destroy her ourselves — and soon.

ADAM COHEN
Kibbutz Kfar Blum.

HOT OFF THE PRESS!

Pinhas Landau, Israel's leading financial journalist, explains in a clear, concise manner how Israeli banking almost destroyed itself, and how it has been rebuilt at home and abroad, and examines where it's heading.

He examines the new crisis: ownership. Will the banks be nationalised? Will they be sold to the public? Will they be taken over by vested interests?

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POSTSCRIPTS

GREENLANDERS can now insure their husky dogs, after 900 died in a distemper epidemic in Nuuk, an insurance company announced. The company, Kalaallit Forsikring, agreed to pay 400 crowns (\$56) if a dog dies of disease.

The U.S. and Danish air forces flew in 350 healthy dogs to save the communities from extinction.

THE SOVIET UNION is laying claim to the man who has read the most books in a lifetime.

Alexander Danilov of Alma Ata has already read 24,752 books in his 60 years, Tass reported recently, "not to mention numerous newspapers, journals and magazines."

Tass cites Unesco data showing that the average man reads not more than 3,000 books in a lifetime. Dani-

lov has for almost 50 years entering in special notebooks the titles of the works he has studied. This has not been a whim, but a professional need, as he has been working since his adolescence on what Tass calls a "unique bibliographical dictionary: 'The People of the Blue Planet.'"

The dictionary contains information on 189,212 personalities through the ages, and makes references to three million bibliographical sources, adding that this compares to 20,000 names in the big Soviet encyclopedia.

A BANK TELLER in Chicago who mistakenly handed out \$25,000 instead of \$250 put police on the scent after realizing the customer smelled like a certain Chinese restaurant.

The customer turned out to be a

busboy at the Three Happiness Restaurant. When the mistake was discovered, the teller was unable to name the person to whom she had given the windfall, but her nose gave police the only lead they needed, and the money was quickly recovered. The teller picked the exact restaurant, telling police that the aroma came from the cooking oils used there.

IF YOU wonder why you never hear of Queen Regent Ntombi of Swaziland these days, it's because a few years ago the head of state changed her name, which means "girl," as it suggests disrespect. Her new name is Indlovukazi. It means "Great She Elephant."

Word Watching

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WEEKLY REVIEW

Journey's End

People Are Yearning For a Leader, but Expecting Much Less

By R. W. APPLE JR.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago this month, in what seems like another era, John F. Kennedy was killed by an assassin's bullet in Dallas. His murder marked a sea change in American politics. Before that awful day in 1963, most Presidents in this century had found it relatively easy to command the affection and respect of a majority of the citizenry; since then, only Ronald Reagan has consistently managed to do that. The others — Johnson and Carter, Nixon and Ford — have had to contend with ever-growing public dissatisfaction with the whole political process.

Now the retirement of President Reagan is imminent, the election of a successor is at hand and that sense of disappointment and distrust, verging on disgust, is back with us. It is, in fact, the dominant reaction to the contest between Vice President Bush and Gov. Michael S. Dukakis. One amazing statistic makes the point better than a dozen anecdotes. In Crook County, Ore., a perfect weather-vane that has gone with the winner in every Presidential election since it was formed, 7 of 10 people interviewed by polltakers said they disliked the choice that they will face on Tuesday.

A correspondent driving across the length and breadth of the country over the last eight weeks heard the same thing from secretaries and business people, and farmers and lawyers and factory hands. The campaign is an embarrassment. The mudslinging is terrible. The candidates aren't up to the job; I have friends who would do better. Why don't they talk about the changes in Russia, how to deal with the deficit, how to educate our kids?

It is a stirring experience to mingle with a people weighing their nation's future. The passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Canadian border to the Mexican border, pulls from the unconscious phrases embedded there in childhood — "purple mountain majesties," "amber waves of grain" — and buried there ever since under layers of dubious sophistication. For every disheartening expression of childish ignorance about public affairs, there are a half-dozen lucid expositions of a viewpoint or a judgment or a doubt. People watched the television debates, noted the commercials and read the newspapers during this long, long campaign.

It isn't that the country isn't paying attention. And it isn't that the country doesn't care. Practical, everyday, down-home democracy lives.

The problem is that relatively few people think the choice they must make is likely to have any great impact on their lives, their friends' lives or their families' lives.



Morris/Ed Hille



Morris/Alex Quesada

They see challenges aplenty ahead for the United States. Indeed, in a New York Times/CBS News poll in October, 57 percent of the respondents, a majority, said they saw the next generation "bogged down by too many problems left behind for them." But only half of those interviewed in the same month, a much lower figure than political scientists found a quarter- and a half-century ago, said they thought that a President, any President, could make a big difference to their children's future.

Negative Convictions

It is worth bearing in mind, of course, that this is not the first post-war election with candidates who seemed unconvincing; in 1948 and again in 1960, two other elections that chose successors to highly popular Presidents, there were loud complaints about the caliber of the nominees. But in any event, the level of dissatisfaction today is high enough to virtually guarantee that many people — many more than are willing to admit it to interviewers — will express their convictions by voting for no one.

Many others will vote, but without conviction. The wayfarer in an election year is left with the impression of a country so diverse in its geography and its interests that it seems a miracle that any party can put together a national coalition. But this time, at least, there is one constant: the use of phrases like "lesser of two evils" and "I'll roll the dice" and "in the absence of anything else, guess I'll have to vote the way my Dad always did." Every one of those was heard at least once in a single day's interviewing in Texas.

In that kind of context, many voters make up their minds not because they are swept one way or another by the tides of conflict on a great issue like war and peace or abortion or desegregation. Mr. Bush's choice of Senator Dan Quayle has cost him more, it seems certain, than it would have cost a really strong nominee; people focus on the Vice Presidency only rarely, usually when something is wrong at the top of the ticket that makes them look further.

Likewise, one senses that fewer voters would have seized upon Mr. Dukakis's problems with furloughed prisoners or with Boston Harbor as reasons to oppose his candidacy had they liked him better or had they been more impressed with his vision for the country's future, especially abroad.

If neither candidate excited the country much, neither repelled it either. Mr. Bush's big advantage, it seemed from talking to voters, was that his (largely negative) view of Mr. Dukakis got through to much of the country, mostly by way of television commercials, while

the Governor's (only slightly less negative) view of the Vice President went unnoticed, at least until the last week or so. However offensive negative advertising may seem to most people, they receive its message; terms like "revolving door," straight out of the Bush attack ads, were used in interviews by a couple of dozen people to explain how they had come to the view that Mr. Dukakis was soft on crime.

Recalling Humphrey

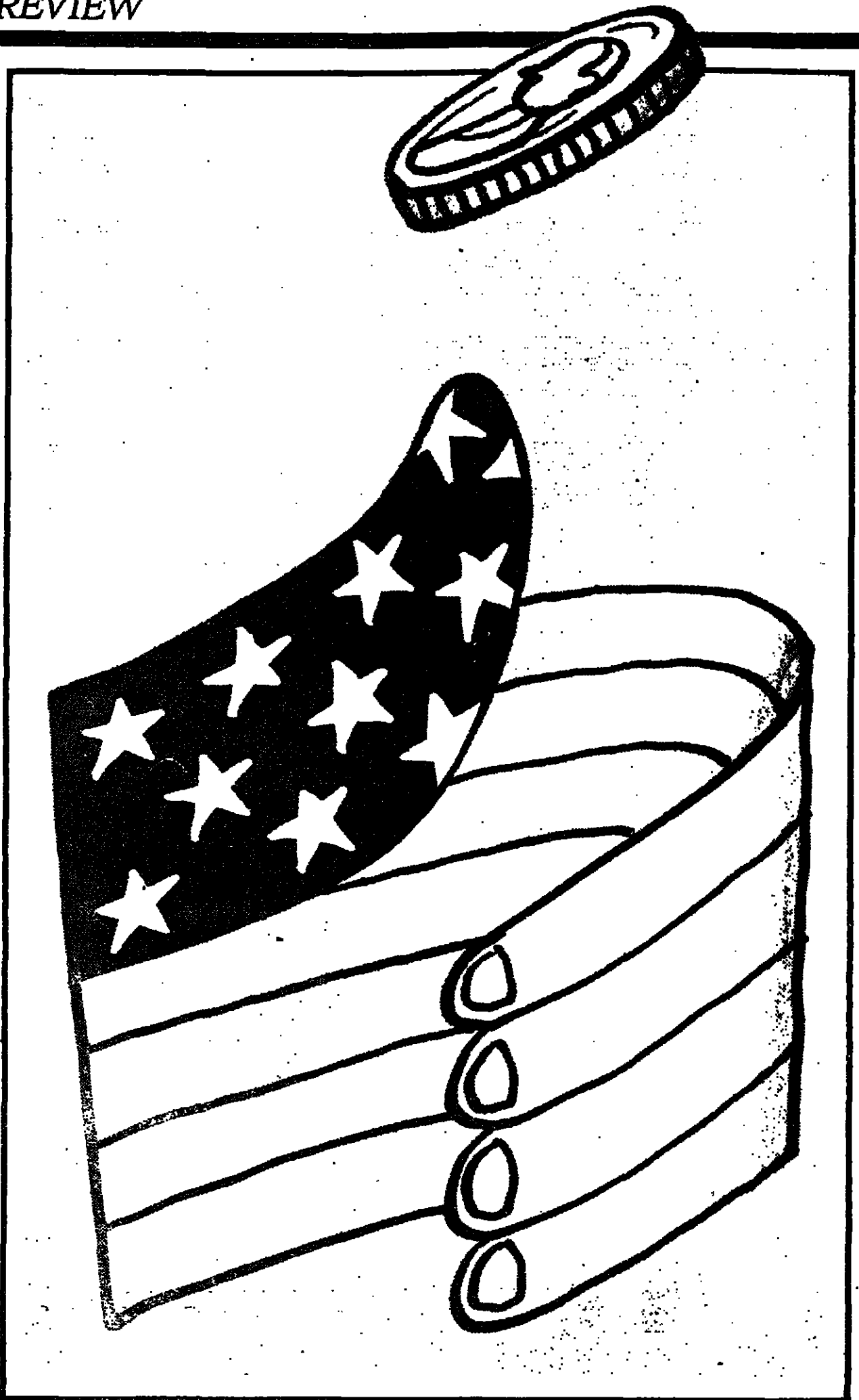
Only at the very end did the Democratic nominee, whose whole campaign had been designed to bring Democrats "back home," start to talk the language they had been talking, in their homes and workplaces, for weeks. It was the language of Hubert H. Humphrey from the campaign of 1968, when he very nearly pulled out a victory by using the old populist, lunch-bucket appeals. Gradually, undecided voters began saying that Mr.

Dukakis would do more "for people like us" and, equally important, began saying less about crime and the Pledge of Allegiance and standing up to the Russians — the issues that put Mr. Bush into the lead this summer, the issues, as a labor official in the Southwest had put it, that "are drawing a curtain between us and our members in this election."

Do more for people like us. The very phrase suggests that the mood of America is subtly shifting, and it is. The swing to the left prophesied by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., as part of his cycle theory of American history, has not yet taken place. Some Americans still agree with Ronald Reagan that Government is "part of the problem." But many more, while still rejecting the old New Deal shibboleths, have come to believe that more, not less, Federal help is needed by the old, the sick and the homeless.

To generalize extravagantly, people are looking for someone who will deliver such help selectively and efficiently. They are also looking for that quality, so hard for them and everyone else to define, called leadership. This year, their search has been unsuccessful, and in that circumstance, or so it seemed out on the road until almost the eve of the election, a great many of them had decided to stay with the party in power, which has, after all, as was so often remarked, kept the country out of war and kept the economy growing.

One more thing: Until there is an interruption in Democratic control of Congress, which no one expects this time, a surprising number of ordinary Americans prefer to see the Republicans in the White House, adding a new ad hoc element to the Founding Fathers' system of checks and balances.



Stuart Goldenberg

Religious Right Raises Some Existential Questions

Two Israels Clash Over State and Society

By JOEL BRINKLEY

ISRAEL held its most important election in decades on Tuesday, and all sides portrayed it as the people's opportunity to tell the world what kind of state they wanted Israel to be. Religious parties made the biggest gains, increasing their share of the vote to 15 percent and putting them in position to demand concessions from their preferred allies. So at first blush the answer seemed to be: a right-wing theocracy.

Here and abroad, the widespread reaction seemed to be disbelief and dismay. A newspaper cartoon, like many that appeared in the Israeli press toward the end of the week, illustrated the nation's mood. It showed an Israeli flag, with the Star of David capped by a large black "streimel," the wide felt hat worn by rigorously Orthodox Jews. A pair of sinister eyes peered out from under the brim, while below the flag a man wearing a Stars and Stripes necktie looked up, clearly distressed and confused at the specter of Israel becoming a state dominated by religious fundamentalists.

That may be turn out to be an accurate description of the government Israel will have for the next several years. But on the larger question the election posed — what sort of people the Israelis are — the people made clear that in terms of many other issues such as how to confront or accommodate their neighbors, where their boundaries should be and how many Arabs they should govern, they are still unable to decide.

It is precisely because about 80 percent of population remains evenly split, unable to define the nation's character, that the decision has fallen by default to the religious minority. When the final votes were counted Friday, the mainstream secular parties of left and right had fought themselves to a draw, as most everyone had predicted. The left won 49 seats in Parliament and the right

Continued on page 2



Hasidic Jews in Israel celebrating the gains by religious parties in last week's election.

NATO's rifts

Western Europe has an orientation plan for the next American President

2

Soviet Union

If Gorbachev is the force for change, Sakharov is the conscience

3



King Hussein of Jordan (right) with Yasir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in Jordan last month before a meeting arranged by President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt (left). After the meeting, aides appealed to Israelis to support Shimon Peres and his Labor Party.

After the Election

Arabs Warm to Negotiations And Watch Israel Closely

By YOUSSEF M. IBRAHIM

THE pictures were splashed across the top of the front page of Ashraf Al Awasat, a leading Saudi Arabian daily, last Wednesday: Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir sporting their most political smiles as they cast ballots in Israel's elections. Beneath the photos was a sober analysis of what the vote might mean for peace in the Middle East.

Only a few years ago it would have been unthinkable for a major Arab newspaper to display so prominently the leaders of what used to be called "the Zionist entity" or an informative analysis on Israeli politics.

But this Israeli election, unlike previous ones, was treated soberly and watched anxiously in the Arab world. After a meeting between King Hussein of Jordan, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and the Palestine Liberation Organization leader, Yasir Arafat, aides even appealed to Israelis to support Mr. Peres' Labor Party, which advocates territorial compromise and negotiations in the framework of an international conference, positions opposed by Mr. Shamir's Likud Party.

"My own feeling was that Peres would have been persuaded to enter negotiations with the P.L.O.," said Ahmad Khalidi, a Palestinian political scientist and editor. But the results of the close election, which at week's end appeared most likely to produce a coalition formed around Likud, may abort moves by Palestinians to reach out, said Hanna Siniora, the Palestinian editor of Al Fajr, an Arabic newspaper in Jerusalem.

Behind the Arab interest in peace is a fundamental change that has taken place over the last decade. While no Arabs will accept the status quo, in which Israel rules 1.5 million Palestinians as an occupation power, many — be they Saudi princes, Palestinian intellectuals or re-

tired civil servants lounging in Cairo's cafes — now accept the need for a peace with Israel.

But the paradox of four decades of Arab-Jewish disputes has been a time lag that has always led these adversaries to talk past one another — a time lag that has meant that neither side's peace proposals have been put to the test of being offered at a time when they were clearly acceptable to the other side. For the longest time, while Israelis appealed for negotiations, Arabs thought they could do better on the battlefield. Today, as identifiable Arab voices call for negotiations and peace, it is the Israelis, in the wake of their election, whom the Arabs accuse of being unwilling to talk peace.

The change in the Arab attitude began almost as soon as Egypt signed its peace treaty with Israel in 1979. Over the last two years in particular, discussions about the need for peace have taken place not only in private gatherings or to impress foreigners, but in debate with one another, in Arabic and before an Arab audience. To this day such talk is denounced as treason by extremists like Abu Nidal, the Palestinian terrorist leader, but it is clearly becoming a staple of mainstream discussion.

'A Realistic Program'

One early exponent of this thinking is Najib Mahfouz, the Egyptian author who won the Nobel Prize for literature this year. Five years ago, he endorsed the peace agreement with Israel and called on other Arab countries to follow Egypt's example. In the last year, Palestinian leaders have issued similar messages.

Salah Khalaf, known as Abu Iyad, the No. 2 P.L.O. leader, said in an interview published in the pro-Palestinian Kuwaiti daily, Al Qabas, on Oct. 13: "We must have a realistic program and I say this in a loud voice: a program in which Israelis feel that we really wish to co-exist with them and that afterward the two people, Is-

raelis and Palestinians, decide their future course." Ibrahim Nafee, executive editor of the Egyptian daily Al Ahrar, wrote last week, "There is a general Arab movement that is demanding peace and is capable of concluding it, which is not paralyzed by preconceptions nor a myriad of slogans it cannot live up to."

Arab advocates of peace say they are motivated by the need to save what can still be saved of Palestine before Israel annexes it, by an appreciation that Arab rejectionism has brought little gain, and by a conviction that international public opinion increasingly believes in the right of Palestinians to a homeland. As they stand now, Arab views on peace branch into three tendencies.

Leaders of the P.L.O., the Palestinian uprising, and such countries as Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Iraq hold that the best they can hope for is a Palestinian mini-state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, to be negotiated after an Israeli withdrawal. They reject Israeli suspicions that such a state would be intended simply as a launching pad for a larger Palestinian state, arguing that Israel's military might would deter such aims and that most Arab countries want to be done with the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Radical Holdouts

In another view, Syria and the Palestinian factions based in Damascus hold that the balance of power is overwhelmingly in favor of Israel and talks should not begin until the Arab camp improves its strategic position. Finally, a small minority of absolute rejectionists, led by Libya and the most radical Islamic fundamentalists and Palestinian factions, still hold out for "total liberation of Palestine."

The next sign of things to come may emerge from a meeting of the Palestine National Council, which the P.L.O. considers the Palestinian parliament in exile, scheduled in Algeria later this month. There are reports that the council may endorse the partition conceived for Palestine in 1947 by the United Nations.

Whatever the Palestinian intentions, they would have to be expressed in an unequivocal way in order to put real pressure on a Shamir government. And even an unequivocal peace effort could be undermined by new violence. There are still many Arabs, and Israelis as well, whose emotions are easily manipulated by radical elements and their actions — as, for instance, by the firebomb attack last weekend on an Israeli bus that took the lives of an Israeli woman and her children.

Rise of Religious Right

The Conflict Of Two Israels

Continued from page 1

47, not enough in either case to form a government.

At the same time, the four religious parties won 18 seats, more than enough so that together they could give whichever side they chose a governing majority in the 120-seat Parliament. At week's end the religious parties had more or less decided they would anoint the right.

Israelis of the left looked on with shock at the sight of rigorously Orthodox rabbis in streimels and long black coats parading into the Prime Minister's office, unabashed as they twisted arms and laid out their demands: no buses, movies or sporting events on the Sabbath; no Israeli citizenship for Reform or Conservative converts; no military service for yeshiva students.

Israel is a nation of almost daily cataclysms, and with each new turn of events Israelis often throw up their hands as if the world has forever changed.

All this "will mark the end of the Zionist period in Israel," the daily newspaper Maariv editorialized on Thursday, adding that it will cause "a complete reversal in the character of the country." Avrum Burg, a successful Labor candidate for Parliament who is an observant Jew himself, said: "It's unbelievable. American Jews who care about Israel being a tolerant and pluralistic society have to help us prevent the country from going into a long, dark period. We have to fight them."

But this is an age-old fight. Israel is the Jewish state, but its people have never quite been able to define what that means. By far the vast majority of Israelis are non-observant, and that is one reason the state has never been able even to agree on a constitution. The people could not decide exactly what role religion was to play.

When Jews returned here from all corners of the world starting about 100 years ago, the different groups had evolved in widely variegated ways, including disparate approaches to the role of religion in daily life. Thrown together, they could not reconcile their differences. That is the main reason Israel came up with its proportional representation system. The idea was to give every group a voice.

70 Years of Battling

When Jews gathered in Jaffa 70 years ago to elect members to the Jewish National Assembly, the forerunner of the Parliament, 20 parties won seats. But the Orthodox parties remonstrated because female candidates were given equal standing. The secular Jews, then as now the vast majority, brushed those concerns aside.

Until the early 1950's, Israeli medical students were forbidden to dissect cadavers because post-mortems violated Jewish law as interpreted by the Orthodox. But eventually the Orthodox were forced to back down.

In 1964, when Israel acquired a new cruise ship, the Shalom, the new flagship of the Government-run Zim line, the management proposed to put in both kosher and non-kosher kitchens, since most paying passengers were certain to be secular Jews or non-Jews. The National Religious Party, which won five seats in Tuesday's elections, was indignant, saying that it would be sacrilege for a ship flying an Israeli flag to serve non-kosher food. The Orthodox won that round, but as a result the ship could not attract enough passengers and was eventually sold.

The battles continue. In Tel Aviv last year, Orthodox Jews burned down dozens of bus stop shelters because advertising posters on them showed women in what the Orthodox considered to be "immodest" situations. Secular Jews struck back, vandalizing a couple of yeshivas and even a synagogue. The bus stop burnings stopped. But today the religious Jews have the upper hand.

The Orthodox were mistreated before. Rabbi Menachem Porush of the 75-year-old Agudat Israel party said last week. Now, he said with a smile, the secular Jews "are ready to be good boys."

Watching all this, many Israelis, not to mention Americans, worry that Israel could become another religious fundamentalist nation, a Jewish version of Iran. But others say that probably is an overreaction.

"Remember that the ultra-Orthodox are still only 10 percent of our society," said Itzhak Galnoor, a professor of political science at Hebrew University. "Every society has 10 percent extremists of some sort. It just happens that circumstances have thrust ours into a position where, for the moment, they can dictate the political position of the country."

"It doesn't mean that's who we are."

NATO Business Is Coming Up

Europe Has an Orientation Plan For the Next American President

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

AS they wait more or less patiently for this week's election and a new Administration in Washington, America's NATO allies are poised to offer President Bush or President Dukakis some thoughts on what his foreign policy priorities should be. And no matter which candidate is the winner, he will be visited the following week by Western Europe's most uninhibited giver of advice.

Margaret Thatcher has already accepted an invitation from President Reagan to come to Washington to say good-bye and to meet with the next occupant of the White House. The British Prime Minister and Mr. Reagan have cultivated a special relationship over the past eight years, but she will hardly be in a mellow valedictory mood.

Mrs. Thatcher will probably use the occasion to remind the new American President that 1989 will mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and that an allied foreign ministers' meeting is scheduled to be held in London in June. It is no secret that she would like the meeting upgraded to a NATO summit conference that could consider the weightiest matter facing the alliance in the years ahead: how to deal with Mikhail S. Gorbachev and the Soviet Union.

A summit, in the view of the British, would fortify the next American President before what is assumed to be his inevitable encounter some time next year with Mr. Gorbachev.

The new American leader will discover a subtle but significant shift in the alliance's moods and coalitions, one that has left Mrs. Thatcher out on a lonely limb as something of hard-liner. On issues ranging from new missiles to human rights in the Soviet Union to conventional disarmament, NATO exhibits fissures and fault lines, if not open splits.

President Francois Mitterrand has in-

creasingly accommodated France's strategic doctrine of antinuclear sentiment in West Germany, fearing that a stouter posture might undermine the domestic position of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, a convinced Atlantist. On the tricky question of replacing NATO's aging short-range Lance nuclear missiles, which are mostly based in West Germany, Mr. Mitterrand has been floating the idea of putting off the decision for two or three years until results can be measured from a new East-West forum on conventional disarmament that may well convene in the first months of 1989.

Two or three years would nicely ease Mr. Kohl past national elections that will be held in West Germany in 1990, preventing his Social Democratic and Green foes on the left from turning the campaign into a "Raketentwähkampf" — an emotional debate about missiles.

But if the next American President is determined to follow through on NATO's 1985 commitment to supply a successor to the Lance, he will have to decide swiftly to get Congress to approve the project and money for it. Then he will have to get Mr. Kohl's unruly coalition Government to endorse the decision. Within NATO, the American President will discover that the only enthusiast for the missile modernization is Mrs. Thatcher.

Craving Continuity

The new American leader will hear his allies demanding that he come up with a "coherent" approach to Mr. Gorbachev, that NATO must do more than just respond to the Soviet leader's multiple initiatives. The conventional-disarmament forum will be one of the new American President's first opportunities to display such coherence. Today NATO is still far from a consensus. The alliance is similarly split on Mr. Gorbachev's wish to hold a human rights conference in Moscow in 1991, with the British and the Americans demanding convincing proof that

the Soviets really want to improve their record.

As Europeans crave continuity in foreign policy — and shudder at the thought of another American President doing on-the-job training while commanding the alliance — Mr. Bush, a familiar figure, would probably win a straw ballot in the chancelleries and think-tanks of Paris, London, Bonn and Rome. The American election campaign, which has been portrayed as issueless and even trivial, has persuaded many Europeans that the next leader of the United States will be weak. If this belief takes root after Jan. 20, Washington could find the inevitable discussions about financial burden-sharing within NATO turning nasty.

'Anti-Nuclear Malaise'

"Particularly if 'no-tax Bush' gets elected," said Francois Heisbourg, director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, "there will be a strong temptation to beat on the Europeans, saying that they must spend more on defense so that America can spend less."

Though the American agenda on foreign affairs will continue to reach well beyond the allies, shaping a strategy for dealing with Mr. Gorbachev on arms and other issues will be a priority. A recent report from the conservative European Strategy Group, a multinational umbrella organization for various foreign-policy associations, cautioned that the Soviet leader's dynamism and "the deep anti-nuclear malaise left by 10 years of Euro-missile battles" could "carry the security debate in our countries well beyond what prudence would warrant."

"Differences of security outlook on both sides of the Atlantic, and within Western Europe itself," the report went on, "may also add to the problem and ultimately threaten, perhaps irreversibly, the basic Western consensus on the Soviet Union which has been at the core of the Western security system since World War II."



Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is expected to be the first Western European leader to give advice to the new American President.

Each Has His Role in Changing the System

The Mutual Interest of Sakharov and Gorbachev

By BILL KELLER

EVER since Mikhail S. Gorbachev telephoned Andrei D. Sakharov nearly two years ago to tell him he was being released from political exile in Gorky, the fates of these two men have seemed somehow attached.

The frail but indomitable 67-year-old human rights advocate and the charismatic 57-year-old Communist leader have had only two brief conversations, including that first phone call, and yet they are complementary parts of the change taking place here, one man the force, the other the conscience.

Mr. Gorbachev has been for Dr. Sakharov a source of hope. The physicist and humanitarian, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1975, has always believed in the reformability of the Soviet system, and he sees in Mr. Gorbachev's promises and deeds the confirmation of his faith.

Dr. Sakharov has been for Mr. Gorbachev a source of credibility. Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany, in Moscow last month, was just the latest visiting Western statesman to hear Dr. Sakharov's assurances that, yes, it is all right to do business with this man Gorbachev.

Today Dr. Sakharov, who has not been trusted to travel abroad on the ground that his participation in the development of the Soviet hydrogen bomb made him a security risk, is scheduled to travel to the United States for a conference.

The message will assuredly be the same: The West should interact with the Soviet Union, not only because this will reduce the risk of war but because it will have a civilizing influence on the domestic behavior of the Soviets.

Dr. Sakharov has suffered some backbiting from less optimistic dissidents who feel he has been too easily seduced.

In fact, Dr. Sakharov has been remarkably consistent in his hopefulness. He has argued for decades that the East and West can converge toward a better system combining the economic justice idealized by socialism with the liberties of real democracy.

Demanding More

And far from becoming a swooning cheerleader for Mr. Gorbachev, Dr. Sakharov has used every opportunity to demand more of the leader he admires.

Stepping off the train from Gorky in December 1986, he promptly condemned the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan.

Restored to his old two-room apartment on Chkalova Street, he invited in reporters to plead the cases of dissidents still locked up in labor camps or psychiatric hospitals.

Offered an official microphone at the Foreign Ministry press center last June, two days after Mr. Gorbachev met the press in the same room, he supported Soviet ethnic minority groups in their demands for self-determination.

Accepted respectfully into the company of men who once ritually shunned him, Dr. Sakharov can still be counted on to quietly terrorize his hosts with his integrity.



David Shannon

Last week the company was a crowd of self-styled "radical reformers" assembled by the weekly magazine Ogoniok for a roundtable discussion with American specialists on Soviet affairs.

Dr. Sakharov chose the occasion to raise a fundamental question: the tendency toward accumulating more and more power in the hands of a single Soviet leader.

Dr. Sakharov's immediate target was Mr. Gorbachev's proposed design for a

new Soviet Government, laid out recently in a set of proposed laws and constitutional amendments. While the plan has been celebrated for establishing competitive, secret elections as the rule, Dr. Sakharov contended that the

measures would limit the role of those outside the Communist Party and concentrate virtually absolute powers in the hands of one man, the president and Communist Party leader — almost surely Mr. Gorbachev.

Mr. Gorbachev seems to feel that he must move quickly to enact political changes that will, he imagines, break the stifling hold of the Communist Party and Government bureaucracies and permit an economic revival.

The Soviet leader senses that the public is impatient for results, that his mandate is limited and that he must strike before the opposition coalesces.

Thus he has rammed through a sweeping remodeling of the Soviet

Government as though he were striking a stage set and ordering a new one — from party approval last July, to draft laws in October, to approval of the whole plan in November, to election of an altogether new government next year.

Dr. Sakharov contends that the Soviet Union will not soon have another chance to remake its government — indeed, the more it moves toward democracy, the more difficult such transformations become — and he insists it should be done right.

What he sees, he told the company last week, is dangerously wrong.

Many other intellectuals share his misgivings, but they have been quiet because they do not want to undermine Mr. Gorbachev, their champion. Dr. Sakharov suggested that many of them yearn for an enlightened dictatorship.

'No Guarantees'

"The slogan 'Don't hamper Gorbachev's efforts' seems to be very popular with intellectuals and our friends abroad," he said.

"But I think it is a dangerous slogan, dangerous for Gorbachev as well," he added, since like other dictators, Mr. Gorbachev lacks a popular mandate and could be subject to a putsch.

"Today it will be Gorbachev," he said.

"Tomorrow it may be somebody else, and there are no guarantees — we must be frank about this — no guarantees."

Dr. Sakharov believes in democracy — by which he means free elections, a government of laws, basic human liberties, political pluralism.

Mr. Gorbachev also likes to use that word, carefully qualified as "socialist democracy," but he has never completely explained what he means by that, whether he considers it a means to economic revival or a worthy end in itself, whether he accepts the disorder and mess that come with democracy, or how it is consistent with his own consolidation of power.

What Mr. Gorbachev thinks of Mr. Sakharov is a mystery.

The optimists like to think that he does not see the human rights advocate as a useful stage prop, that somewhere inside he honors his country's debt to the legacy of dissent, that he feels perhaps a bit of the awe Dr. Sakharov inspires in other honest people.

What Dr. Sakharov thinks of Mr. Gorbachev is easier to discern — a rare political leader who, nonetheless, is mortal and imperfect and needs someone to remind him of it.

Polish Government Closes a Shipyard, Then Offers Talks

Solidarity Is Caught Between 'Square Cell and Round Table'

By JOHN TAGLIABUE

AFTER countless lesser pin-pricks, the Solidarity union movement viewed last week's news that the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk would be shut as a stab at its heart.

Discussions first promised by the Polish Government in August, in exchange for Solidarity's help in ending a wave of strikes, were being endlessly postponed. As the announcement was made that unprofitability required the closing of the shipyard, which was the birthplace of Solidarity and has been the union's bastion, the Government's chief spokesman was again chiding Solidarity for not joining round-table talks on the Government's own terms.

Then, almost as a plane carrying Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on an official visit touched Polish soil, the Government made another tactical feint designed to keep Solidarity off guard. In a move evidently aimed at impressing Mrs. Thatcher with its seeming openness to a dialogue, the Government's spokesman, Jerzy Urban, appeared on television to propose once again that the talks get started. Solidarity's leaders, including Lech Walesa, called the offer hollow and replied that their response could wait at least until the British Prime Minister had left Poland.

Yesterday Mr. Walesa expressed willingness to talk again with the Government. Still, no date was set for such talks.

The sudden announcement that the Lenin yard would be shut reflected

the close watch kept over the Government by a constituency in the Communist Party whose response to the problem of Solidarity has all along been a low murmur: do nothing. These guardians of immobility, for the most part, are Communist Party members at all levels whose reputations, jobs and tranquillity rest on preserving the stance that has developed among Poland's Communists since the time of martial law in 1981-83: The party must survive in power and they individually must survive in their positions.

For tactical reasons, this involves keeping step with Gorbachev-style restructuring. But the more immediate issue is how to restrict accommodation with the opposition to a level that projects an image of serious dialogue while in fact consolidating the party's control of affairs.

Emboldened Union

Solidarity, after a time of eclipse, has become emboldened by its success in driving the Government to the negotiating table, even if further talks have not been scheduled. Grass-roots work at factories has increased, and intellectuals who once considered the movement a closed book are wandering back.

The Roman Catholic Church is offering support, thanks largely to the tough line taken by Pope John Paul II, who has linked the prospect of diplomatic relations to the Polish Government's willingness to compromise with Solidarity.

The results do not always draw wide attention. In the Warsaw area alone, more than 25 Solidarity factory councils have sprung up since the strikes last summer, seismic

rumblings that are detected first by party regulars on the factory floor. They have been sounding the alarm over Solidarity's revival.

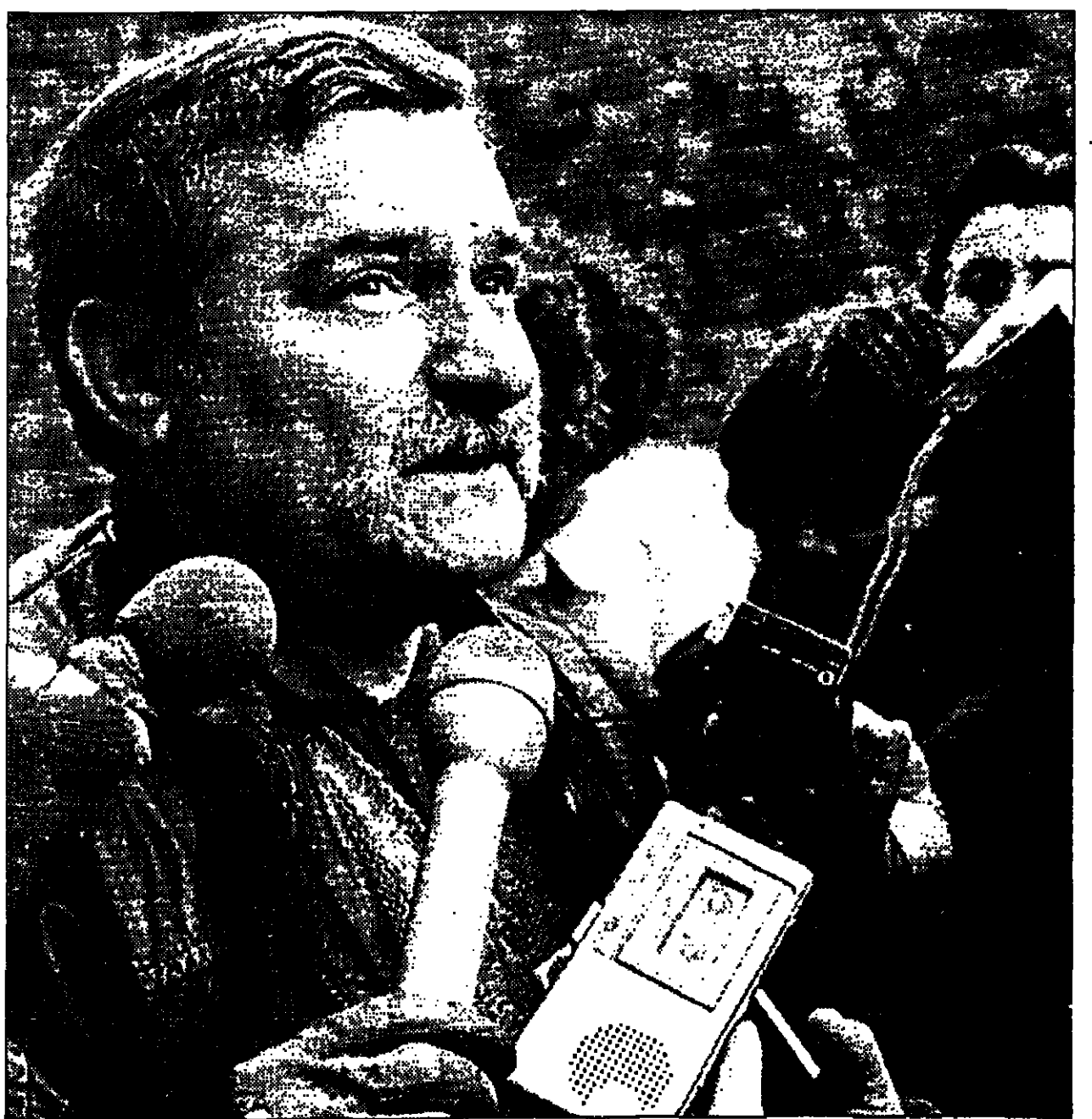
In response, the Government has cautioned Solidarity in countless editorials and commentaries against trying to set up union committees at the shop floor before the long-planned and postponed talks.

And the Government has quietly struck back. In September, security agents swept into apartments used by the Solidarity leadership to confiscate two of the five computers the union uses to print the most influential of its underground weeklies.

All of this has put the union in an eerie no-man's-land between acceptability and vulnerability. In a rare public demonstration, hundreds of its followers gathered late last month in the main auditorium of Warsaw University to hear prominent dissidents, including the essayist Adam Michnik, celebrate the 10th anniversary of the largest underground publishing house and laud the Government's willingness to confer with Mr. Walesa and Solidarity leaders as it did in September.

Mr. Michnik, who like most Solidarity supporters was jailed during martial law, said the Government had put Solidarity "halfway on the road from a little square cell in Mokotow," the location of Warsaw's largest jail, "and the round table in Jablonna," the baroque palace where the Government discussions with the opposition are to be held.

An underground publisher in the audience disagreed. Solidarity, he said, was still "a good deal closer to the little square cell than to the round table."



Lech Walesa talking to reporters last week. Yesterday, he expressed willingness to meet with the Government, but no date for such a session was set.

The Nation

California Has 29 on the Ballot

With Proliferation of Ballot Initiatives, Suddenly Everyone's Interest Is Special

By ROBERT REINHOLD

HIRAM JOHNSON, leader of the California Progressive movement of the early 1900's, would probably agree that democracy has gotten a little out of hand this year. But he might argue that the crowded state ballot hardly reflects the direct democracy he espoused.

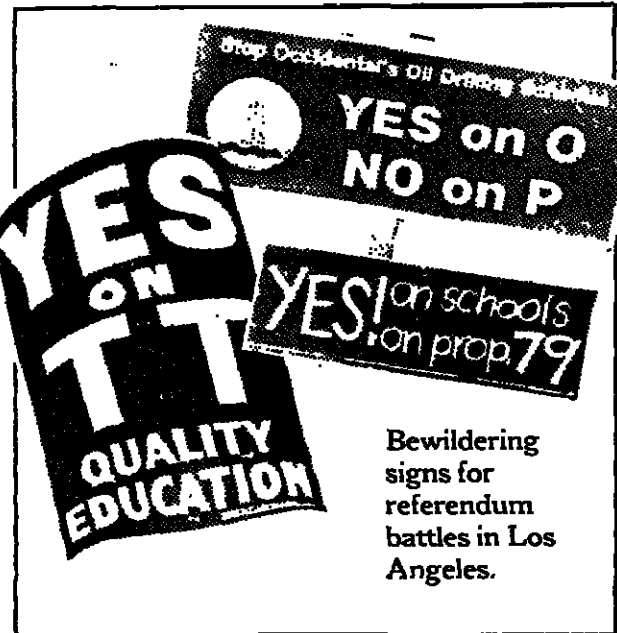
Seventy-seven years after Governor Johnson ended the Southern Pacific Railroad's grip on the California Legislature by creating the voter initiative and public referendum, Tuesday's ballots will carry 29 statewide propositions and bond measures, not to mention hundreds of local measures. More than \$130 million has been spent in the war of the initiatives. A huge consulting industry has sprung up to gather the signatures (372,125 this year) needed to put measures on the ballot.

Battered by a blizzard of blatantly distorted claims, Californians are angrily struggling with measures on automobile insurance, cigarette taxes, AIDS disclosure requirements, homelessness and other issues. All have been proposed by interest groups using a system originally meant to empower the spontaneous combustion of citizen action. Even sophisticated political operatives have thrown up their hands in dismay, particularly over the five conflicting initiatives on automobile insurance, which would mean a giant tangle in the courts if more than one passes, and on which partisans have spent \$76 million, more than in any non-Presidential election.

"If Hiram Johnson were to see the way it has become the tool of special interests, he'd turn over in his grave," said State Senator Alan Robbins who has seen insurance companies and trial lawyers scuttle his legislative attempts at insurance law changes and then try to write their own law through initiative. In fact, the paralysis of a Legislature mired in an influence-buying scandal is a large reason for the proliferation of initiatives.

While some say corporations and interest groups have just as much right to ballot democracy as others, there is worry that a precept of the American republic, representative democracy, with its inherent refining virtues of compromise and balance, is being undermined.

Though it is the most extreme case, California is not



The New York Times/Bart Bartholomew

alone in making law through voter initiatives; 26 states do so. In all, 54 statewide measures (12 in California alone) have been placed on the ballots by citizen petition drives, according to Patrick B. McGuigan, editor of the Washington-based Initiative and Referendum Report. An additional 122 were put on by state legislatures or by statutory requirements. The total of 176 is the most since 1982, the year of the drive for a nuclear freeze.

And then there are the hotly contested local issues. The people of Los Angeles, for example, are to decide if the Occidental Petroleum Company can drill near the beach. San Franciscans are considering if they want the homeport of the U.S.S. Missouri, whether they favor a Palestinian homeland and more — 54 measures in all. San Francisco, officials plan to set up express lanes for those who bring completed sample ballots.

"The initiative process is important because it confronts the structure, the powers in the Legislature, the big boys who know each other a little too well," Mr. McGuigan argues. Genuine public outrage was behind the landmark tax-cutting Proposition 13 a decade ago, but since then it has become almost impossible for common people to circumvent the Legislature and put a measure on the ballot. The process now costs up to \$2 million.

"The more an initiative is organized and managed by professional firms, the less it tends to be a product of concerned citizens and volunteers tapping popular sentiment," wrote Larry L. Berg and Craig B. Holman, political scientists at the University of Southern California. "Setting the state's political agenda through initiatives has now become the proprietorship of the wealthy."

Yet the outcome often displeases the moneyed interests. Indications are that the automobile insurance industry's "no fault" plan, embodied in Proposition 104, has little chance of passage, even though national insurance companies have pumped over \$65 million into their campaign to promote it. Leading in the polls instead is Proposition 103, a drastic measure to roll back premiums and regulate the industry, which was backed by a consumer group that has only \$2.3 million to spend. When in doubt, goes the California adage, vote "No."

"Voters are not fools," says Prof. Thomas E. Cronin of Colorado College, a political science professor who has written a book on initiatives. "Money simply cannot buy votes." In fact, outside money can create a backlash. Professor Cronin noted that in Maryland, for example, there has been resentment against the National Rifle Association's referendum campaign to block the creation of a commission that could ban handguns.

Despite the excesses, Professor Cronin and others

An Election Supermarket

Here are some of the statewide measures placed on Tuesday's ballots by citizen petition.

Law and crime

Oregon: Forbid parole for repeat felons.
California: Require AIDS virus test for suspects in sex crimes and in assaults on police or emergency workers.
Florida: Limit civil damages for such noneconomic losses as pain or mental anguish.

Health and welfare

California: Require doctors to report people carrying AIDS virus, require carriers to report sexual partners, allow insurance companies to test for virus and permit doctors to test without patient permission.
California: Raise cigarette taxes by 25 cents a pack, with revenue going for medical research and cancer treatment.
Oregon: Ban smoking in workplaces and public buildings.
Arkansas and Michigan: Ban use of state funds for abortion, except to save the mother's life.
Colorado: Repeal ban on state spending for abortions.

Auto insurance

California: Set "good driver" discount of 20 percent; limit injury awards; cut premiums at least 20 percent; create "no fault" system; limit lawyers' contingency fees.

Taxes

Colorado: Reduce income, sales and property taxes; require voter approval for tax increases.
Arkansas: Require that any tax increase be approved by 60 percent of both houses, or by a referendum.
Nevada: Prohibit imposition of a state income tax.

Other measures

Florida, Colorado and Arizona: Declare English the official language.
Massachusetts: Repeal law requiring union wage rates on public projects.
Massachusetts: Regulate treatment of farm animals.
Massachusetts: Shut down nuclear power plants.
Montana: Repeal seat-belt law.

feel the initiative process is worth saving. "It is still a way to gang up on big interest groups who own state legislatures," he said. "The bottom line is that people want a safety valve."

Numerous remedies for the excesses are under discussion. One close monitor of the process, Charles M. Price, a political scientist at California State University at Chico, favors limits on spending and rules to disclose the sponsors of advertising. Others talk about banning paid signature gatherers, increasing the number of signatures required to qualify or limiting the number of measures on any one ballot.

But "if these and other reforms fail to correct the obvious deficiencies," Professor Berg and Mr. Holman wrote, "perhaps it is time to end the process, at least in large, populous states such as California."

From Natural Gas to Photovoltaic Cells

Growing Reliance on Foreign Oil Revives Talk About Alternatives

By MATTHEW L. WALD

IN September, oil production in the United States fell below eight million barrels a day for the first time in more than a decade; in October, Saudi Arabia pushed its production to 6.5 million barrels a day, the highest level since 1982. As the winter heating season begins, these trends are renewing anxieties about a return to dependence on foreign oil.

Since the time of the Arab oil embargo, which started 15 years ago last month, daily oil production in the United States has declined by about 13 percent. Continued declines are predicted — they are tied directly to increases in production of cheaper Middle Eastern oil — with output in the 48 contiguous states falling off rapidly. Production from the North Slope of Alaska is expected to peak and then begin to drop off in the next year or two.

There is still plenty of oil under American soil,

but most of the oil that is easy to extract is gone. American oil companies spend about \$4 a barrel to find oil abroad and about \$8 a barrel in this country, said Charles T. Maxwell, a senior analyst at C. J. Lawrence, Morgan Grenfell Inc. "There aren't that many barrels to find at \$8," he said, referring to the oil that is easy to extract.

As oil prices rise, more specialized and expensive extraction methods become practical for getting additional oil from fields that are now considered to be exhausted. But right now no one wants to spend more to produce oil domestically than it costs to buy it on the world market.

According to the American Petroleum Institute, the Washington-based trade association, imports are rapidly increasing; in September 6.9 million barrels a day were imported, only about one million barrels less than was produced domestically. September production was depressed slightly by the hurricane season.

There has been rising concern about the husbanding of domestic energy supplies.

"I don't want to sound like a broken record, but we obviously have a vast potential in conservation," said Scott Denman, a spokesman for the Safe Energy Communications Council, a Washington-based coalition of environmental and anti-nuclear groups.

Because of increases in efficiency, American energy consumption has risen very slightly in the last 15 years, despite an expanding economy, and oil consumption has actually declined as natural gas, methane and other fuels have been substituted. Measures of the Carter years aimed at encouraging the development of so-called synfuels and certain other energy sources have been allowed to expire. The need for them seemed less pressing as oil prices declined.

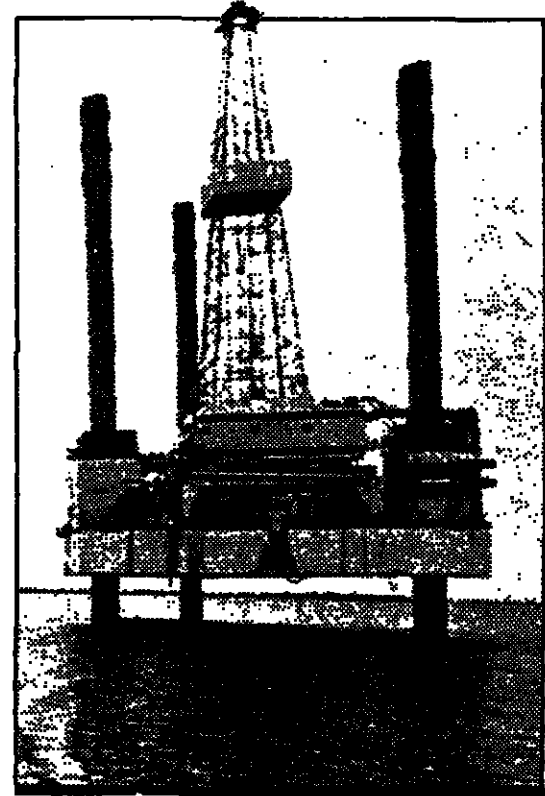
Roughly half the oil is used for transportation. Of the 16 million automobiles in American commercial and government fleets — taxicabs, police cars, delivery trucks — half may be running on natural gas by the end of the century, said Richard Ittelag of the American Gas Association. Others consider that projection optimistic.

Introducing 'Orimulsion'

New fuels are emerging, too. For example, bitumen, an asphalt tar from Venezuela's Orinoco basin, is mixed with water and an emulsifying chemical to produce "orimulsion," which has been successfully tested as a substitute for oil in industrial boilers in Canada and other countries. Production of orimulsion, currently about 20,000 barrels a day, is expected to rise to 50,000 barrels next year with the beginning of commercial sales, and to as much as one million barrels a day by the end of the century, the Venezuelan national oil company estimates.

Another alternative to petroleum is hydrogen. It can be derived from coal or natural gas and burned in engines or combined with oxygen to make electricity in a process developed for the space program.

As photovoltaic cells continue to become economically competitive with conventional oil-



Picture Group/Dan Ford Connolly

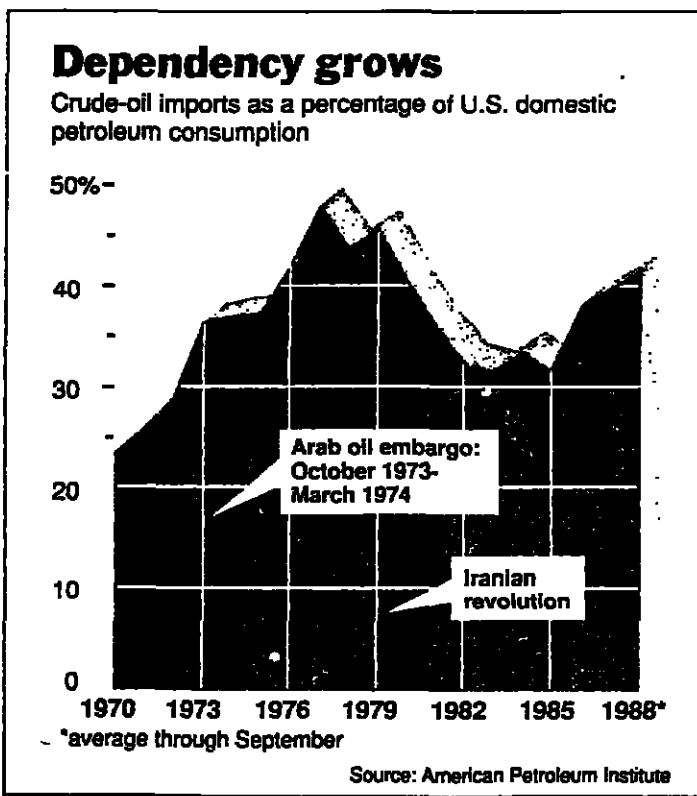
and gas-burning power plants, hydrogen could be used to store the energy, as in the fuel cells used by astronauts. Zoltan J. Kiss, president of Chronar Corporation, which recently announced plans to build a photovoltaic station in the desert outside Los Angeles, argues that hydrogen is already a cheaper storage medium than conventional lead-acid batteries.

Nuclear power, though it has fallen into disrepute with large segments of the public, still remains an alternative, although the American companies that build reactors do not expect any new ones to be ordered in the next 10 years.

Hans Blix, director general of the United Nations' Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency, said in a recent interview that for the United States "to abandon nuclear energy would be utter folly." That is not a surprising view from Europe, which derives much more of its energy from nuclear reactors than does the United States.

But with the price of oil in the Middle East just over \$10 a barrel, a third of what it was at the beginning of the decade, no substitute that requires a big investment will be attractive to private investors.

Even if the price of oil rises, the expectation of volatility — prices have fluctuated 25 percent so far this year — depresses drilling in high-cost areas, and discourages the financing of alternative energy efforts. The volatility may or may not be deliberate, oil analysts said, but for OPEC it can have a salutary effect, keeping American drillers on the sidelines.



Brooklyn Union Gas

New York City is testing two buses in Brooklyn that run on natural gas rather than diesel fuel; an idle oil rig in Sabine Pass, Tex. (above right).

Japan: Land of the Rising Kitsch

By VINCENT CANBY

TOKYO — In the middle of a recent weekday afternoon, in a large, immaculately maintained cinema off the Ginza, there were only two dry eyes in the house — mine.

They really didn't count, since the film I was watching was in Japanese, supplemented from time to time by dialogue in Mandarin Chinese translated by Japanese subtitles.

The house wasn't packed. However, the people who were there sat rapt while a small, rambunctious Chinese boy, who could have studied acting at the knee of Gary Coleman, chewed the scenery that wasn't being chewed by a panda cub named Hoa Hoa.

The film was "The Panda Story," the latest in a series of sentimental Japanese movies about animals that, at least until now, have done nothing but make money.

Though Japan is riding the crest of one of the greatest economic booms the world has ever seen, serious film makers are not receiving many of the benefits.

Venerable Akira Kurosawa, now 78 but tireless, must look for financing outside his own country.

His "Kagemusha" came to fruition only through the support of George Lucas and Francis Coppola, tax-paying citizens of a large debtor nation.

Serge Silberman, the French producer responsible for Luis Buñuel's final masterworks, produced "Ran," Kurosawa's majestic reworking of "King Lear."

Now Steven Spielberg is in the process of producing Kurosawa's next film, tentatively titled "My Favorite Dreams."

Nagisa Oshima, who shook up the censors at home and abroad with his sexually explicit "In the Realm of the Senses," made his most recent film outside Japan — in France.

With the exception of Shohei Imamura, who is now completing "Dark Rain," an epic about the atom-bombing of Hiroshima, and the handful of new social satirists exemplified by Juzo Itami ("Tampopo"), serious film making appears to be languishing.

Instead, the nation that gave us the classic films of Kenji Mizoguchi, Yasujiro Ozu and Mikio Naruse, which were produced in the 30s, 40s and 50s (though unseen in the United States until the 60s and later), has developed an insatiable appetite for kitsch.

Kitsch is certainly not an exclusively Japanese passion.

If it can be defined as anything, that's both too much and not enough,



A scene from "The Panda Story"—These days, animals sell tickets.

whether the subject is art, architecture, literature, fashion, food or movies, the passion is clearly international.

Kitsch is Sylvester Stallone's musculature, the Liberace museum in Las Vegas and possibly even those presidential campaign pitches that are designed to melt the heart but often melt the head.

It's music in elevators. It's the music you hear when the airline reservations clerk puts you on hold.

In Tokyo, it's the music with which almost every office pacifies you while you're waiting to be passed on by the secretary to the person you're calling.

In the major cities of the world, from Cairo to New York and on, kitsch is also the top-of-the-hotel restaurant that revolves to give the diner a 360-degree view during a 60-minute repast.

The turntable of the restaurant atop the New Otani Towers, which was built in anticipation of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, may be getting rusty. Its discreet lurches make some people seasick.

Yet the night view of Tokyo is as significant as it is spectacular.

The skyline is aglow with huge, brightly lit signs for Toshiba, Sony, NEC and the other wizards of electronics responsible for revolutionizing American home entertainment.

Japanese kitsch is conspicuous consumption, such as the sort of casual jacket a suburban father might wear on late autumn weekends to rake the leaves, only the one on display here is made of waterproofed, olive-colored silk, instead of poplin, with a mink lining to keep dad warm.

The price: \$10,725. Kitsch is also conspicuous consumption in terms of the occasional film budget.

One of the most expensive films ever produced by a Japanese company, and apparently one of the year's biggest box-office flops, is the \$40 million "Dun-huang," based on Yasushi Inoue's novel set in an ancient city of Buddhist cave temples in China.

The project was one long cherished by Masaki Kobayashi, who became interested in it in the late 60s.

In spite of, or maybe because of, his formidable reputation as the director of the three-part, nine-hour "Human Condition," among his other internationally recognized works, Kobayashi was never able to raise the financing.

The fear was that he would be too fussy, too intellectual and would run over his budget.

When the project finally came together, it was put into the hands of a director who, according to someone who worked on the film, was thought to be good in his handling of horses and camels.

I have not seen the film. The horses

and camels may look great, but the reviews were caustic and the public did not break down the doors the day the film opened.

It's one of the oddities of the current Japanese film scene that, in spite of the general apathy, "Dun-huang" may not actually lose much money.

The film was a joint venture of Daiel, a production company, with Marubeni, a huge trading company with offices all over Japan, and Dentsu, a production company with interests in publishing and advertising.

An accepted practice in such cases is for the companies involved to require their employees to buy tickets to these show-business ventures sight unseen.

When the numbers of employees, plus the members of their families and their friends, run into the tens of thousands, the size of the captive audience can make the difference between a hit and a flop.

Another practice that is helping producers of Japanese films to cut their losses is the advance-discount purchase plan.

Some time before a film opens, the public is given the opportunity to buy tickets at discounts of 20 percent.

This is a sizable saving when a first-run Tokyo movie ticket sells for 1,500 yen (approximately \$12 at the current rate of exchange), and going up to 1,700 yen at the end of this year.

The Japanese film industry is not declining to quite the same degree as the industries in France and Italy, but it's far from healthy.

Theater attendance was down to 143,935,000 last year from 185,324,000 in 1973, and though box-office receipts were up, most of the increase could be attributed to the 300 percent rise in ticket prices between 1973 and 1988.

Cable television is still limited to hotels and a few choice apartment houses.

Japanese television stations present nowhere near as many films as American stations.

Everybody, however, has his video cassette recorder, and movie rentals are cheap and popular.

That Japanese movie producers should lean toward sure-fire pop hits is not hard to understand. They are fighting fire with fire in a highly competitive market in which American films take nearly half of the annual receipts.

It also isn't difficult to understand why Japanese audiences are so taken at the moment by animal kitsch, of which "The Panda Story" is a goey-if harmless example.

Arts & Leisure

A pretty, 20-year-old Japanese zoo worker, played by a pop star named Saori Yagi, is sent to north central China as part of a joint Chinese-Japanese team whose mission is to save pandas.

She becomes friendly with a tirelessly cute little Chinese boy and, with him, helps to raise a motherless baby panda to an age when the panda must be turned back into the wilderness to find its own bamboo.

Though I could guess at some of these plot twists, I am indebted to Alan Booth, the film critic for The Asahi Evening News, for explaining a number of the film's subtleties in his cheerfully jaundiced review.

(Among other things missed by the non-Japanese-speaking critic is the

Though Japan is riding the crest of a great economic boom, serious film makers are not receiving many of the benefits.

information that pandas are black as well as white because they are in mourning for a young woman who gave her life to save a panda cub.)

Preceding "The Panda Story" in release was the hugely popular "Hachiko," based on the true (pre-World War II) story of a dog that used to wait each night outside the railroad station for the return of his master, a Tokyo professor.

One day the professor died on the job and was taken home by a different route.

The faithful dog refused to believe his loss. For years he returned to the station each evening, only to be disappointed again.

When the dog finally died, local citizens erected a statue of him that sits

today, as he once sat, outside the Shibuya station in Tokyo.

The film was a bigger hit than "Love Story."

In addition to "Hachiko" there have been "The Antarctica Story," about the rescue of some huskies inadvertently abandoned after a Japanese expedition to Antarctica, "Chatran," dealing with the marvelous adventures of an anthropomorphic cat, and "Oracion," which I saw without benefit of English subtitles, inflight, en route to Tokyo.

"Oracion" seems to be about a small boy, dying of some dread but not disgusting disease, and a horse that is being groomed to win a Japanese derby.

It's full of scenes set in great wide-open spaces (juxtaposed with hospital room scenes), lots of pretty sunsets and shots of horses frolicking freely on broad, grassy plains.

Such films obviously touch on current Japanese longings, especially for space in a tiny country where much of the land is too mountainous to be habitable, and where 10 percent of the population of 120 million lives in crowded, though remarkable tranquility in and around Tokyo.

Pets mean space, room in which to roam. In most Tokyo apartments, a litter box would be an odoriferous intrusion.

Japan has money to burn, but even fortunes can't buy much space in a city where nine square feet of land was recently valued at \$255,000.

The Japanese find themselves in a maddening position. Japan is a rich society, and only rich societies can afford to indulge themselves with animals as pets.

People in poor countries, or even in poorer sections of rich countries, regard animals as creatures that must earn their keep.

Unless they can herd sheep, bark at prowlers, catch rats or pull the plow, they are just so many more mouths to feed. They are luxuries.

People here can afford virtually every conceivable appliance and labor-saving electronic gadget, which, if it wasn't invented by the Japanese, was perfected by them.

What they don't have is room to swing a cat.

Everlasting Enigma Of Wagner's 'Ring'

By DONAL HENAHAN

NEW YORK — Ever since the first performance of Wagner's "Ring" in 1876, audiences and critics have twisted themselves into knots wondering what it is all about. Why not, when the composer himself seems to have believed that the questions were more important than any answers.

So, inevitably, with the appearance of the Metropolitan Opera's "Götterdämmerung" and the closing of yet another "Ring," the old question arises.

It is no accident that the four-work cycle is second only to the Bible in the volume of written commentary that it has inspired. Like the Bible, it can be read in innumerable, seemingly contradictory, ways.

Are "an eye for an eye" and "turn the other cheek" clearly compatible rules for behavior? Many perfectly decent people act as if they are, depending on circumstances. It seems to be in the nature of rules and maxims to be reversible.

Thomas Mann, as astute a Wagner commentator as ever lived, remained hopelessly ambivalent about the "Ring" all his life, unable to embrace or reject the work's implications.

He was both deeply repelled and deeply affected by Wagner's ability to draw the listener down into the murky depths where humanity becomes an abstraction, represented by myths and symbols.

Nietzsche, the first great Wagner apostle but later a bitter apostate, heard in the music a forecast of doom for German culture.

A more recent critic, Robert Donington, follows the lead of the psychoanalyst Carl Jung in finding hidden meanings in terms of universally applicable archetypal images.

Most such analyses leave us pretty much where we started, baffled in the presence of a work that is impossible to resist and yet impossible to love unreservedly.

Aside from the entirely defensible, childlike acceptance of the "Ring" as a good story about heroes, dwarfs, dragons and sleeping beauties, the most carefully rationalized explanation came from George Bernard Shaw. In "The Perfect Wagnerite," he proved, to his own socialist satisfaction, that the great tetralogy was a metaphor for the decline and fall of

capitalism. The lust for gold was just that: a lust for gold.

In our time, Patrice Chereau has pleaded the same simplistic case in a sensationalist Bayreuth staging on which other directors continue to feed.

Many productions of the "Ring," however, exhibit no great interpretative intentions. The Metropolitan's version, in fact, heads in a 180-degree direction from that of Chereau and his imitators: other than a concern for returning to Wagnerian tradition in staging, it is difficult to specify what the producers of this "Ring" wish us to think about the cycle's meaning.

In appearing to dodge the meaning issue, however, the Metropolitan production may not be intellectually derelict so much as wise.

Contradictions and paradoxes remain in view, where Wagner himself left them, probably for good reason. The "Ring" and its perplexing con-

The latest production leaves Wagner's contradictions and paradoxes in view.

clusion are ours to mull over, unconstrained by someone else's tidy explanation.

We know what a great admirer the "Ring" had in Adolf Hitler, for whom it prophesied the rise to world dominance of a race of blond, square-jawed supermen like himself. Any such interpretation would be hard to take away from the Metropolitan's "Götterdämmerung."

The Siegfried we meet, though briefly before his murder, is a denial of the superman myth. He is no longer the chest-beating young brute who is equally happy slaying dragons or beating up on dwarfs.

Here he changes — progresses — from invincible hulk into recognizable human being, a poor soul who cheats on his bride and blames it on a magic drink. Formerly, his strength depended on a magic hat, a magic

sword and a magic ring, but now Hagen easily kills him with one thrust of an unmagical spear.

Siegfried fails just about every known test for a superman.

"Der Götterdämmerung," it may follow, is not really the betrayal of music-drama principles that Shaw and other Wagnerites have believed. Yes, it falls back on the conventions of traditional, even Meyerbeerian, grand opera, with its scenic sensations and vocal set pieces, but perhaps that was Wagner's inchoate way of suggesting that not only Siegfried but the myth of super race was doomed.

The gods, Valkyries and other mythic abstractions were gone, and good riddance. Humanity was now free to evolve in more sensible directions.

Those curious spectators who gather to watch the overflowing of the Rhine and the destruction of Valhalla at the final curtain will go on endlessly repeating the human errors of the "Götterdämmerung" Siegfried.

That vision of a permanently imperfect future might well have distressed Shaw, who early on was fascinated by Stalin and Mussolini.

The author of "Man and Superman" must have been disappointed when Siegfried's magic vanished and he became as vulnerable as Everyman.

But, in the light of 20th-century history, we may prefer to recognize in Siegfried, the flawed hero, our direct ancestor. For the first time in the "Ring," we even feel a twinge of sympathy for him.

A major difficulty in coming to terms with the "Ring" is that the librettos of the four works were written in reverse order, whereas the music was composed in logical sequence.

Given that eccentric method of creation, it would be astonishing if the thing made sense of any sort.

Wagner, in a letter, conceded that his texts were muddled, but added this significant defense of his method: "I believe it was a sound instinct which set me on my guard against an undue enthusiasm for making everything clear, for I have come to the firm conclusion that to make my intention too obvious would get in the way of a genuine understanding."

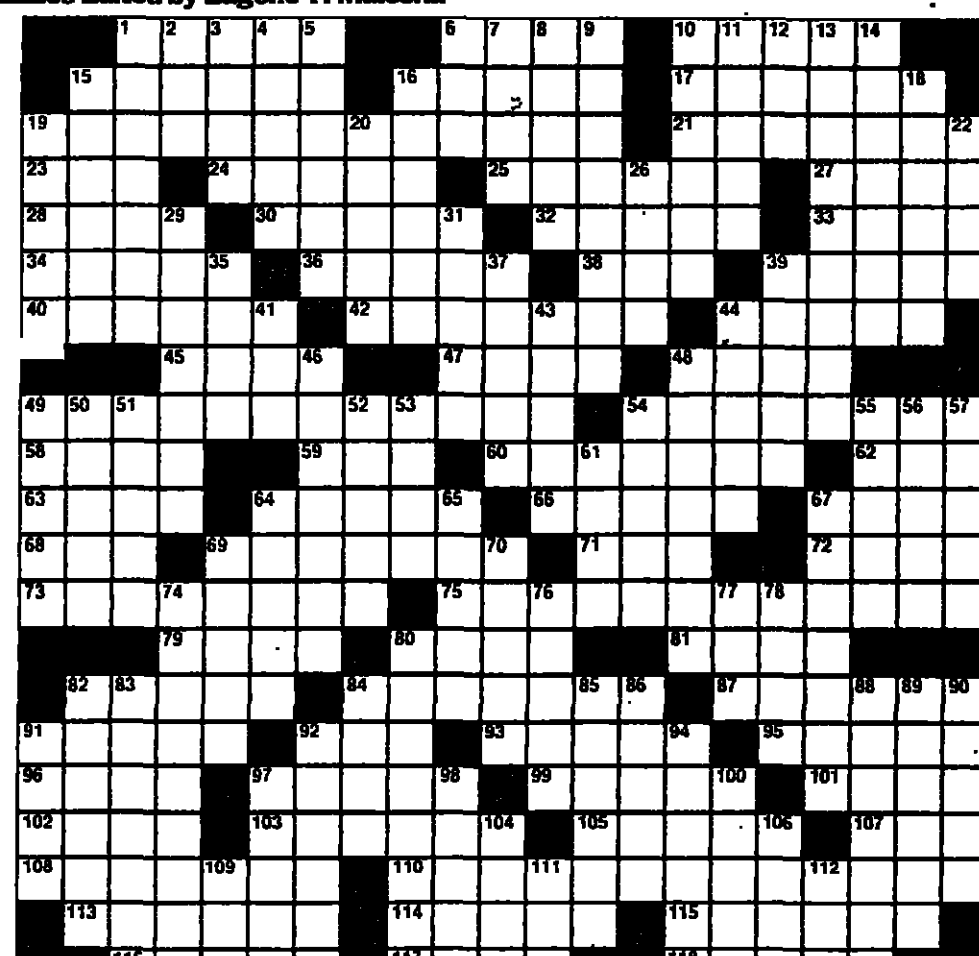
That appeal to the uncertainty principle may not be much help to a director determined to solve all the riddles of the "Ring," but it heads an old debate in the right direction.

Particularizing

BY BERT H. KRUSE/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska

ACROSS

- 1 Kindergarten material
- 6 Melville protagonist
- 10 Troy suffered one
- 15 Succeeded: Colloq.
- 16 Betel-nut producer
- 17 Ruined
- 19 Give oneself airs
- 21 Election results
- 23 Western athlete
- 24 Dozed
- 25 Shingle man
- 27 Venetian bigwig
- 28 Certain reading matter
- 30 Inventor Howe
- 32 Porch
- 33 Rose's love
- 34 Divinity with a load on
- 36 Curtain fabric
- 38 Caboodle's pal
- 39 Wave lift
- 40 Dugong
- 42 African republic
- 44 Griffith Gaunt's creator
- 45 A Waugh
- 47 Very large Philippine trees
- 48 Proverbially cheap item
- 49 Toy
- 54 Prisoners
- 58 Conqueror in a Latin adage
- 59 Bard's before
- 60 Veloz's dancing partner
- 62 Anger
- 63 Sayers' "The Tailors"
- 64 Experimented
- 66 Actor John and family
- 67 Tari
- 68 Antarctic cape
- 69 Masticate
- 71 Born, to a Parisienne
- 72 Catch
- 73 Cook one's (dash another's hopes)
- 75 Try to overcome insomnia
- 79 Foot part
- 80 El Paso's Vikki
- 81 Plant affliction
- 82 Emulate
- 84 Claims
- 87 Kind of firecracker
- 91 Fern part
- 92 Little, in Lothian
- 93 "Giant" ranch
- 95 Passover feast
- 96 Highlands girl
- 97 Hangs onto
- 99 Short smokes
- 101 Crème — crème



DOWN

- 1 Kneecap
- 2 Commotion
- 3 French cathedral city
- 4 Kind of fight
- 5 Kennedy and Barrymore
- 6 A founder of Dadaism
- 7 Name in a will
- 8 Thespian
- 9 Shaw's "and the Man"
- 10 Most dependable
- 11 Lifeless
- 12 Certain N.Y. time
- 13 Flesh-revealing photo
- 14 Attired
- 15 Undergo change
- 16 Gazing fixedly
- 18 Motor
- 19 Immature monarchs, e.g.
- 20 Homeric products
- 22 Beginning
- 26 Thwart
- 29 Ghastly
- 31 Indian tongue: Var.
- 35 Only
- 37 Villain
- 39 Pituitary location
- 41 Dry foe
- 43 "Taras Bulba" author
- 44 Incursions
- 46 Hold dear
- 48 Certain two-wheeled carriages
- 49 — arms
- 50 Kind of acid
- 51 Known, in Nice
- 52 Musical chord
- 53 Pay attention
- 54 Actress Leigh
- 55 Italian metropolis
- 56 Heaven: Comb. form
- 57 Dispatches
- 61 Sally — (tea cake)
- 64 Bargain; deal
- 65 Aristocratic
- 67 Aped a butterfly
- 69 Cell-producing gland
- 70 Student, at times
- 74 Lollapalooza, to a flapper
- 76 Encourages
- 77 H.R.E. part
- 78 Regrets
- 80 Lauren Bacall vehicle
- 82 Cargo units
- 83 — stone (famous tablet)
- 84 Vocal approval
- 85 Dines at home
- 86 It was a Bearcat
- 88 Barbershop sweetheart
- 89 Fix brakes
- 90 Klinger's "Sturm und"
- 91 Lie
- 92 Using a squab
- 94 Grate
- 97 W.W. II field marshal
- 98 Net
- 100 More reasonable
- 104 Whirl
- 106 Squash or melon
- 109 Cart or ball ending
- 111 Kind of luck
- 112 Reel's companion

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

CAO HALLS AS FAR ASSET
ADE FODER SHORE CLIME
LOD ALTER PERIL TIERE
ERI RUTS SCAMS ASCENT
BECO WESEPARATED ENDS
ANT RATE STALLED
NOTABLY HER SEWAS
OWENY HARI TEARINTO
WMS EIGIN PLAN EGGS
DATER SCALD PAIDS
CROAK UPPERCUT ATREA
CHINA BARTON ROARS
CELA HEAR LEAST BRU
LAM DICHOP DEED SCARIS
SEMICE SAM STORAGE
ANYMORE YOGO MEN
ISIS DIVISIONOFLABOR
MADPLE UPTON ATIPERE
ADELE CLEAT ELEMAN RAN
MANIC PASTA LINEN RITE
STYETR ARTES MESSY VES

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Government of (Half) the People

It's possible that less than half the voting-age population will bother to vote Tuesday. That would be the worst turnout since 1948 when 51 percent voted in the Truman-Dewey race. It would also further indict this peculiarly unifying campaign.

Even so, turnout has been dismal in the last three elections. In none has it gone much above 50 percent. That puts America near the bottom of any list of the major democracies, and it raises three big questions: Why is turnout so low? Do poor turnouts really matter? Are there remedies?

Turnout is higher among whites than blacks. Midwesterners get to the polls more than people elsewhere. College graduates are twice as likely to vote as those who attended only elementary school. People over age 40 are more likely to vote than those under 25. Indeed, because the baby boomers are aging, some analysts think Tuesday's turnout may not be so bad after all.

What's the reason for low turnout? A favorite culprit is registration: the two-step process that requires voters in 49 states — North Dakota is the exception — to register before they vote. Some states make life easier than others. But the maze of regulations and deadlines plainly deters voting.

Still, registration alone can't explain why 60 million Americans weren't registered in 1984. A determined voter will find a way to register. Moreover, apathy increasingly afflicts registered and unregistered alike. The percentage of registered voters who do vote has steadily declined — from 85.3 percent in 1960 to 80.5 percent in 1968 to 72.6 percent in 1984.

What are other possible explanations? The

political parties, shadows of their old selves, no longer get people to the polls. A string of negative campaigns may have turned off some voters. Candidates seem unwilling to interest voters by educating them on complex issues. Television, too, may have played a role, by turning people into spectators rather than participants.

Does non-voting make a difference? In a literal sense, sure. Ask any candidate who's lost an election by a handful of votes. And even if it's true, as some think, that non-voters split pretty much the way voters do, so what? The act of voting is every bit as important as the result. The educator Robert Maynard Hutchins once warned: "The death of democracy is not likely to be an assassination from ambush. It will be a slow extinction from apathy, indifference and undernourishment."

There are remedies. Simplified registration might add between six million and 13 million voters. Mandatory voting, as in Belgium and Italy, would be hard to enforce, but why not, in this computer age, try letting voters establish their identities on voting day with Social Security cards or driver's licenses?

Ideally, national campaigns should be aimed at education, not mere seduction. One of the tragedies of the 1988 campaign has been the missed opportunity to teach Americans about a whole range of subjects — a sea change in relations with the Soviet Union, for example, or the global breakdown of the environment.

In this sense, a low turnout Tuesday may send one salutary message: If politicians begin to take the public seriously, perhaps the public will begin to take them seriously.

A Harder Line From Moscow?

Does Soviet suspension of troop withdrawals from Afghanistan signal a harder foreign-policy line? Some Kremlin watchers think so. They were already disturbed by the ouster of long-serving Americanists in Moscow's leadership. And they note that, for all the talk of reform, the Soviets seem to be spending as much as ever on arms.

Fair enough. Yet Mikhail Gorbachev's turn away from ideological dogma is real, and requires a supple U.S. response. That depends on Americans' capacity to outgrow the habit of overstating and oversimplifying Soviet sins.

Soviet behavior in Afghanistan has been lamentable. Even before Friday's announcement on troop withdrawals, Moscow had brought in Scud missiles and MIG-27's, and used Soviet-based Backfire bombers. The U.S., rightly, has reacted swiftly against the implicit threat to Pakistan.

Still, this style of withdrawal is not unfamiliar, as Vietnam knows. The Russians have repeatedly said they would do anything necessary to defend their withdrawing forces — let alone to prop up the desperately weak regime they leave behind. Any move that now weakens their commitment to have all their troops out by Feb. 15 must be seen with the wariest eye.

As for Soviet military spending, Vice President Bush and others contend that it is steadily rising. "Even with perestroika, reform . . . Soviet military modernization has not slackened," Mr. Bush asserts. Yet the American view of Soviet military spending remains grossly imprecise, as the frequent readjustment of official estimates attests.

Mr. Gorbachev doubtless understands that his reforms cannot go forward if military spending con-

tinues to consume 13 percent of gross national product, more than twice the U.S. share. The best evidence that he is genuine in wanting to reduce military spending is his continued pursuit of arms control initiatives.

The third piece of evidence of a harder line is the supposed anti-Americanism of the new Soviet foreign-policy establishment. Yes, longtime U.S. specialists like Andrei Gromyko and Anatoly Dobrynin have been replaced by men like Aleksandr Yakovlev, known for harsh anti-American writings.

But specializing in American policy is hardly the same thing as being pro-American, as Mr. Gromyko's record proves. And if Mr. Yakovlev's years in Canada left him with no affection for the U.S., neither has he any illusions about its formidable strengths.

Indeed, Mr. Yakovlev is a principal engineer of Soviet moves toward pragmatism in foreign policy. The change this is not so much toward anti-Americanism as away from being transfixed by the U.S. Soviet initiatives toward China, Japan and Western Europe, and its diplomatic contacts with Israel and new interest in the United Nations all signal a more nuanced, multilateral approach. Meanwhile, Moscow steadily pursues welcome policies like pressing Angola to cooperate in resolving conflict in southern Africa and Vietnam to withdraw from Cambodia.

Both great powers share an interest in reducing military outlays and in improving relations. Soviet behavior along the way will be far from uniformly pleasing, and Americans are sure to identify its various sins. Progress requires keeping them in perspective — and recognizing the advances too.

Better Government for Yonkers

The bitter battle over court-ordered low-income housing in Yonkers was an inevitable result of the city's governing structure. It has a mayor with little management authority, a city manager with virtually no political authority and a City Council reflecting district, not citywide, interests. A ballot proposal to restructure and strengthen city government deserves voter approval.

Under the present system, the mayor, elected citywide, has the same vote and voice as each of the other six Council members, while the city manager wields day-to-day management authority and power to appoint department heads. But the manager is also an employee of the Council, serving at the pleasure of a majority.

So the Council, a legislative body, has the most clout. But, except for the mayor, its members need only be responsive to their district constituents. That's why the city was paralyzed when four defiant Council members provoked contempt charges and crippling fines by refusing to obey a Federal court order to implement a housing plan.

The ballot proposal, prepared by a commission, would eliminate the city manager and make the mayor chief executive with direct management responsibility and appointment authority. An elected city controller would serve as chief fiscal officer. The City Council would be expanded to 11 members, with power to advise and consent on mayoral appointments. And the mayor could veto legislation within 10 days.

Four years ago, a less-ambitious proposal was defeated by fewer than 400 votes. Recent events ought to persuade Yonkers voters that these sensible charter amendments deserve approval.

Vote Yes for Clean Water

In Suffolk County, pine barrens and oak brush are fast yielding to condominiums and subdivisions, and that poses a threat to underground aquifers that supply drinking water. A yes vote next week on County Proposition 1

Topics of The Times

would be a vote to protect the water supply.

Proposition 1 would add no new taxes. Instead, for the next decade, one-quarter of a cent of Suffolk's present 7.5 cent sales tax would be dedicated to preserving drinking water quality. The quarter-cent would yield about \$370 million over a 10-year period. Of that sum, \$300 million would be used to buy and preserve thousands of acres of

open space to insure that adequate rainfall reaches the aquifers. The proposition would permit the county to sell bonds now to expedite the proposed land purchases.

The plan would also provide \$100 million to help Suffolk towns close and cap landfills by the 1990 deadline imposed by New York State. Remaining funds would go to clean up toxic waste sites and to establish a special unit in the County Attorney's office to prosecute polluters. The reason for supporting this sensible proposal is as clear, and vital, as the water that flows out of the tap.

Banned Beepers

New York Schools Chancellor Richard Green deserves praise for banning telephone pagers, or beepers, from all public schools. It's a welcome response to the drug plague that recognizes no boundaries, including institutions of learning.

Beepers are important tools of the drug trade. In schools, they can be used to set up buys or to warn dealers of approaching police or security officers.

That's why more than 50 school districts, including Houston, Philadelphia and Miami, have already banned beepers. Two years ago, the New York Board of Education's school safety division ordered that students with beepers be summoned to the principal's office for questioning. Now, Dr. Green has taken an important second step. All beepers not justified by medical or other legitimate reasons will be deemed contraband and confiscated. School buildings cannot remain isolated from drug-infested communities. But Dr. Green and other educators deserve support for their efforts to discourage the drug-related messages that beepers send.

Letters

Only Two More Fighting Days Until Election

To the Editor:

Your editorial endorsement of Michael S. Dukakis ("Two Good Men," Oct. 30) is so tepid that it invites us to skip voting altogether. If that's your verdict, you're entitled to say it. What puzzles me is the logic that leads to so timorous a stand. After describing George Bush's campaign tactics as misleading and irrelevant, you decide their effectiveness makes Mr. Bush the winner on this count. Mr. Dukakis is downgraded because he wasn't able to sink to Mr. Bush's level.

You say that Mr. Bush made a blunder when he chose Dan Quayle as his running mate; that Mr. Dukakis's choice of Lloyd Bentsen was far more responsible, and that the Governor's stands on the environment, the rights of women and minorities, education and health insurance are better than the Vice President's. On foreign policy, Mr. Bush sounds more assured than his rival, thereby, it seems, removing Iran-contra from your memory. Mr. Bush is affable, even as he wields his knives and cudgels. Besides, Mr. Dukakis is so serious, stubborn and "rigid" that he'll never be able to offer inspirational leadership à la Ronald Reagan.

What finally tips the scales in favor of Mr. Dukakis, though even so slightly, is the future of the economy, along with its connection to national security. Mr. Reagan, in the use of his inspirational powers, has led his Administration in the creation of "towering" deficits that will have "seismic effects," thereby committing an "immense, overpowering sin." But far from repenting, George ("Read My Lips") Bush has pledged to continue the very policies you condemn.

Why does Mr. Bush gain your praise for the effectiveness of his use of ugly images and poisonous slogans in pursuit of power? Why are Governor Dukakis's seriousness and discipline made to count against him, thereby somehow offsetting the profound unseriousness of the Quayle selection? Why does the issue you regard as decisive — an issue that most clearly divides the two candidates — move you only one reluctant half-step from neutrality?

In view of your careful attention to Mr. Dukakis's flaws, it seems odd that you don't mention the lack of candor, depth and fire in his early campaign, which made him an underdog; neither do you take note of his transformation in the late stages. I hope many others have taken note. On the evidence, even as you present it, I cannot conclude that there are in fact two good men running for the Presidency.

ROBERT G. HOYT
New York, Oct. 30, 1988

Bush and Clean Fuel

To the Editor:

You repeat the myth that Vice President Bush blocked or delayed lead phase-down for years, only recently supporting it in an election-year conversion, and that he failed to advance any cost-effective cleanup initiatives (editorial, Oct. 30).

The Vice President never opposed lead phase-down and underscored his role in accelerating it in his final report of the Presidential Task Force on Regulatory Relief in August 1983. Moreover, he made the search for a nonpolluting lead substitute a top priority when the task force was reestablished in December 1986.

The Vice President's success in this search and in establishing an additional clean air role for alternative fuels (such as ethanol, methanol and compressed natural gas), which are being used as an inexpensive pollution control measure in Los Angeles and other cities in the West, deserves more attention in the East, where they are not being pursued (except for two apparently successful New York City bus demonstration projects that were inspired by the Vice President).

C. BOYDEN GRAY
Counselor to the Vice President
Washington, Nov. 1, 1988

La, La, La, Your Land

To the Editor:

When George Bush toured the Midwest with the country singer Crystal Gayle on his arm, his campaign inadvertently showed what the Reagan Administration and a future Bush Administration are about.

Ms. Gayle chose to sing for the crowds a Woody Guthrie favorite that she and the Bush campaign identified as "This Land Is My Land."

The song's title is "This Land Is Your Land," and it's a cinch that

George Bush, who reportedly didn't know the words, isn't alone. I'm sure Ms. Gayle didn't sing Guthrie's most important verses, which go:

*In the squares of the cities,
In the shadow of the steeples,
In the relief office
I saw my people.
As they stood there hungry,
I stood there singing
This land was made for you and me.*

and:

*As I was walking
I saw a sign
And on the sign it
Said "No Trespassing."
But on the other side
It didn't say nothin' —
That side was made for you and me.*

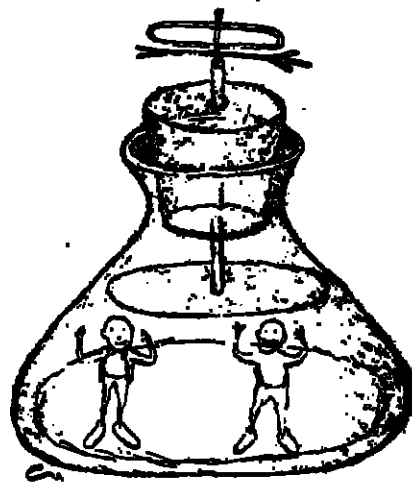
Clearly not a Republican sentiment. No wonder Mr. Bush could only hum along!
DAVE LINDORFF
Spencer, N.Y., Oct. 31, 1988

Just TV Images

To the Editor:

Flora Lewis writes (column, Oct. 16) that "the handlers are giving the voters what they seem to want." I'm not so sure. Yes, it does seem that television viewers are judging the candidates on their warmth, which seems odd as the major criterion for President. But here in Wisconsin (and elsewhere too, judging from news articles), many of us feel something is missing from this campaign. That something is due, I believe, to the handlers and the way the campaign is being run.

Very little is happening at the local level — there are no speakers, no rallies, no visits by candidates or their surrogates. The entire campaign is focused on getting the candi-



dates or their spokesmen on television and not out to communities, where people want to hear discussion of the issues.

A neighbor commented the other day, "People are looking for a reason to vote for Dukakis." It's not that there's such great fondness for George Bush and his ability to appear "warm" on television, but that the political message has been left to the creation of television images — and many voters are not satisfied with that.

LILLIAN TRAGER
Racine, Wis., Oct. 19, 1988

The Students' Choice

To the Editor:

What your front-page article about the readiness of younger voters to vote for George Bush and to embrace the Republican Party (Oct. 31) misses is college students (as distinct from the total population 18 to 29 years old that you refer to) who are not ready to vote for Mr. Bush. And while equal numbers describe themselves as Democrats or Republicans, only a minority say they are conservatives.

CollegeTrack, a market research and consulting organization of which I am president, recently interviewed 1,275 college students across the country and found they preferred the Dukakis-Bentsen ticket over Bush-Quayle by 51 percent to 39 percent with 11 percent undecided (the margin of error was plus or minus three percentage points).

Last spring, we found that 48 percent of the students described themselves as moderate, 31 percent as liberal and only 19 percent said they were conservative. Thirty-five percent aligned themselves with the Democrats, compared with 33 percent with the Republicans.

Despite their relative affluence, college students are concerned about the deficit and feel America's competitive position has slipped to second behind Japan, in the relative quality

of American products and in overall economic strength.

In short, college students are unsettled about the economy and want a change in leadership. That's why more than half of those we polled chose Michael Dukakis over Mr. Bush.

STUART HIMMELFARB
New York, Nov. 1, 1988

Foolish Self-Interest

To the Editor:

George Bush keeps telling us that we're better off now than we were eight years ago. Well, some of us are. Does that mean we are to forget the millions (and the numbers are growing) who aren't? What a demeaning appeal to selfishness.

But even from a selfish point of view, forgetting the less fortunate is a major mistake. What happens when children who are homeless, hungry and uneducated grow up? They are going to live in a world with our children. Will it be a good world? Or will it be rife with crime and drugs and welfare rolls that are unmanageable? Will the streets be safe for our children? Will the schools be safe for our grandchildren?

Following George Bush down this path of self-interest is sure to lead us to self-destruction. Maybe selfishness always does.
ARLENE EISENBERG
New York, Oct. 27, 1988

Alan Paton's Liberalism

To the Editor:

When it comes to redefining the word "liberalism," I can think of no better instructor than Alan Paton, author of "Cry, the Beloved Country." In a lecture in 1953, he declared himself a liberal, and defined the term thus:

"By liberalism I don't mean the creed of any party or any century. I mean a generosity of spirit, a tolerance of others, an attempt to comprehend otherness, a commitment to the rule of law, a high ideal of the worth and dignity of man, a repugnance of authoritarianism and a love of freedom."
HERBERT KRETZMER
London, Oct. 28, 1988

Stargazing on the Right

To the Editor:

In "Bush's Lucky Stars, Dukakis's Destiny" (Op-Ed, Oct. 16), you publish a projection of our nation's political future based on the astrological notions of Jeanne Dixon. Ms. Dixon assesses two mutually exclusive futures: a Dukakis vs. a Bush Presidency. Knowing her right-wing political leanings, one should not be surprised to learn that, if elected, Mr. Dukakis will have to struggle to overcome "incompatibility between his own astral indications and his country's."

Since the scientific community has investigated the astrological hypothesis and found it without predictive value, we are forced to conclude that you are oblivious to evidence or are willing to pander to superstition.

We can take a joke as well as anyone. But we know Ms. Dixon is not joking. Are you?
JAMES MARKLAND
New York, Oct. 18, 1988

People, Not Polls

To the Editor:

Unless the Reagan Administration has done something to change the Constitution, it still gives the people, not the news media and not the pollsters, the right to choose the President.

For most of my adult life, I have worked for voter education and voter participation. I have registered people to vote, I have driven people to vote, and I have baby-sat to make it possible for citizens to execute their constitutional right to vote. I have always believed the vote was the basis of our democracy. So why do the news media sabotage that basic right?

Why would Americans go to the polls on Nov. 8 when the results were announced by the news media a month before the election? If ever an act of disenfranchisement occurred, it was Wednesday, Oct. 13, 1988, with the announcement of the poll of the Electoral College. To those who previously doubted the importance of their individual vote, this act certainly reinforced it.

I hope that the people who make this nation great will fight back rather than accept the pollsters' view. Each vote still counts, and votes make the difference. If all the eligibles come out and vote, they, not the news media, will choose the next President. Only that way can we keep the Constitution alive.
SONDRA GRUNDMAN
Rye, N.Y., Oct. 21, 1988

Bureaucracy Defeats Constitution in Voter Registration Contest

To the Editor:

We are fast approaching another Presidential election in which it is likely that less than 50 percent of the eligible electorate will cast a vote. We should be reminded again that the main reason for such low participation has nothing to do with voter apathy, but the registration process.

This morning, my secretary received from the New York City Board of Elections a computer-printed registration card in her name indicating in which district and at which polling area she is entitled to vote. The card also informed her that she was not entitled to vote until Nov. 9, 1988 — the day after the Presidential election. The reason given was that she had allegedly failed to meet some unspecified registration deadline. Her husband received a similar registration card today, but with no limitation. They had registered together, same place, same time, to the very minute, well before the registration deadline.

She was outraged that she might be deprived of her constitutional right to vote by an obvious error. I promptly called the local number on the card. I started dialing in the early morning, only to receive no answer on at least a

dozen attempts. Finally, at about 4 P.M., someone answered.

After I explained the error with all the courtesy I could muster, the voice curtly and knowingly responded that she had obviously missed the registration deadline. I pointed out that she and her husband had registered on time, that he had received the proper registration card and that she had clearly received the wrong one. The voice's only response was that the registration had obviously not "gone through." At this point, exasperated but still cordial, I asked, "What are you telling me?" Promptly, a hangup and a click on the other end.

One can only wonder how much worse the other bureaucracies of the world would function if they adopted this approach — or maybe some of them already have. In any event, the bureaucracy that is responsible for insuring that diligent citizens are able to exercise their right to vote is already quite comfortable with this approach. The whole thing is shameful.
RICHARD H. KREINDLER
New York, Nov. 1, 1988

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Dukakis: Honest, Practical

By Mario M. Cuomo

I doubt many people have enjoyed this campaign much. Michael S. Dukakis wanted to make it a discussion of competence and vision, based on the hard facts of an open record and well-defined substantive positions. George Bush decided he was better off hiding himself and his record from the American people. He did it effectively, with a campaign of distortions, evasion and lies. He spent millions of dollars branding the word "liberal" but was afraid to face Governor Dukakis on a platform to

Mario M. Cuomo, a Democrat, has been Governor of New York State since 1983.

debate what it meant.

One of the saddest aspects of the last few months is that so many experts criticized Mr. Dukakis as being naïve for expecting anything better from a political campaign.

In two days, we'll learn whether the experts and George Bush are right: that if it works, it's acceptable, and lies work in political campaigns. I believe that Americans are going to insist on a higher standard.

Mr. Dukakis knows that while we're still the greatest nation in the world, we face serious challenges. He understands — as does practically every reputable economist — that something more must be done about our continuing deficit and growing debt. He has plans to deal with a declining workforce, a lack of affordable housing, a need for health care and the renewal of our infrastructure.

He has in place one of the best state antidrug programs in the nation.

George Bush accuses anyone who publicly admits we have these problems of being unpatriotic. Maybe it's just because he's never actually run a government. As Vice President, the only thing he's ever been in charge of is the campaign to keep drugs out of this country — and there has never been a more dangerous or embarrassing failure. Since he took charge, there's more cocaine and crack than ever — and more of the death and pain it brings.

Both Governor Dukakis and Vice



ABROAD AT HOME | Anthony Lewis

Who is George Bush?

In 1972, when he was Ambassador to the United Nations, George Bush wrote the foreword to a book called "World Population Crisis." He was supportive of the U.N.'s activities on population, and he commended the work of Planned Parenthood.

"My own first awareness of birth control as a public policy issue came with a jolt in 1950," he wrote, "when my father was running for the United States Senate in Connecticut." Just before Election Day, Prescott Bush was described in a Drew Pearson column as active in Planned Parenthood — anathema to many Catholics at the time. He lost by a few hundred votes, and George Bush said the last-minute smear may have done it.

That George Bush was a moderate Republican, like his father. He supported the efforts of Planned Parenthood and other such groups. He resented political attacks on them. And he opposed the criminal laws that then made women go to dangerous back-street mills for abortions.

Today's George Bush is against abortion. He is in an Administration that has opposed Planned Parenthood and the U.N. world population program because they do not take a rigid view against abortion. His party's platform calls for a Constitutional amendment that would keep any state from allowing women to make the choice.

In the Western democratic world those are extreme positions. Hardly any European country, for example, bars abortion in such absolute terms: not Britain, not Germany, not France, not Spain, not Italy.

What changed Mr. Bush's view? Politics did. He decided that he had to please the extremists of the anti-abortion movement in order to get anywhere in today's Republican Party.

If there was any doubt about the shallow political basis of his change, it ended in the first Presidential debate last September. Mr. Bush was asked whether women who have abortions should go to prison. He looked surprised.

"I haven't sorted out the penalties," he replied, "but I do know — I do know — that I oppose abortion. . . . Once that illegality is established, then we can come to grips with the penalty side."

Anyone who had thought even a little before taking the position that

abortion should be criminalized would necessarily have had to consider the question of penalties for women. Mr. Bush had not thought about it. He had taken his position not on a considered moral or religious basis, which would command respect, but as a political expedient.

The next day his chief handler, James Baker, said the Vice President had decided that women should not go to prison if they had abortions; doctors should. With that, said Mr. Baker, the issue was behind us. And the press, God bless it, left it there.

Mr. Bush has done many things that broke with the faith of his father — with the tradition of political civility and tolerance. While talking about making this "a kinder, gentler nation," he has conducted a campaign of deliberate lies about his opponent's patriotism and record.

According to the Bush campaign, Michael Dukakis is for "socialism." He is "a pacifist." He has "opposed virtually every defense system we have developed."

A Bush television advertisement denounces Governor Dukakis for failing to end pollution of Boston Harbor. The ad shows a dirty pool with a sign, "Danger! Radiation Hazard/No Swimming." The picture was taken not in Boston Harbor but in a nuclear submarine repair facility.

Then there is the case of Willie Horton, the furloughed Massachusetts murderer. The Bush campaign has devoted enormous resources to charging — falsely, but evidently to great effect — that Governor Dukakis personally approved that furlough and that he is soft on crime.

"Mike Dukakis has furloughed more than one murderer per day," says a small yellow card mailed to Connecticut voters. It is headed, as in the game Monopoly, "Get Out Of Jail Free, Compliments Of Michael Dukakis." It goes on to say: "Mike Dukakis is the killer's best friend, and the decent, honest citizens' worst enemy."

But even more than those despicable campaign tactics, I think the abortion issue opens a window into George Bush's beliefs. For the sake of winning, not for any deeper reason, he is willing to deprive 1.5 million American women every year of safe legal abortions and make them return to the back streets. That is what he believes in: winning.



Bush: Foreign Affairs Sense

By Lawrence Eagleburger

If you believe in the importance of an effective foreign policy, then you should hope that George Bush will stay in Washington next year and Gov. Michael S. Dukakis will remain in Boston.

To the degree that experience in foreign affairs is important, and it is, Mr. Bush has had more varied opportunities to learn than almost any previous Presidential aspirant; Mr. Dukakis, none.

But the case for George Bush does not rest on experience alone. Ideas and philosophy also count. So much has been written about Governor Dukakis's onetime espousal of a nuclear freeze, and his opposition to the Strategic Defense Initiative, the Mideastman missile, the invasion of Grenada and the attack on Libya that little more need be said about his awareness of the importance of power in world politics.

The Governor appears to be a part of the school that blames the United States if the world is out of kilter. People who think that way sometimes play a useful role; devil's advocacy has its place. But that place, emphatically, is not the Presidency. Presi-

dents must lead, and to lead they must have confidence in the country's cause. Simply put, the world is safer when America is strong and determined and less secure when we are weak and uncertain.

The mix of Dukakis disabilities — inexperience, reluctance to build the weapons systems that assure our military strength or to use that strength, as well as ambivalence about the nature of America's role in the world — is hardly a prescription for winning the confidence of our allies. With the Soviet Union, it is an open invitation to trouble.

And what about dealing with the formidable Mikhail S. Gorbachev? Washington can have little influence on the course of his domestic reforms and would be unwise to try. However, a sophisticated foreign policy with the right mix of firmness and flexibility could, over time, encourage more civilized conduct by the Russians.

The best guide to how Governor Dukakis would deal with Moscow is his speech to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations last Sept. 13. He said, he would, among other things, "challenge" the Soviets to cut nuclear arms, advance the cause of peace, eliminate the Soviet advantage in tanks and artillery, cool regional conflicts, stop the supply of

arms to volatile regions, reject terrorism and live up to the obligations of the Helsinki Accords.

The list of challenges is extensive, the description of what we will do to give those challenges bite, and how we will react if the Kremlin decides not to play, is much harder to come by. The only sanction mentioned, and that obliquely, is a denial of Soviet access to Western resources, technology and international economic institutions.

To deny the Soviet Union what it already does not have is not much of an incentive, nor is it easy to see what is new and different about the policy. President Jimmy Carter's grain embargo failed to change Soviet conduct and led Moscow to seek new sources of supply, thereby seriously and permanently damaging America's wheat farmers. The Dukakis solution, while not so Draconian, can hardly be expected to be any more successful.

Mr. Dukakis's foreign policy utterances present a picture of an approach to dealing with the Soviet Union that is patently lacking in balance. It is a one-dimensional response to a multidimensional challenge.

George Bush, by contrast, offers us broad foreign policy experience, an open avowal of his commitment to a strong defense establishment and a willingness to use it when the occasion demands, a healthy but not blind skepticism about change in the Soviet Union and a readiness to negotiate seriously and constructively to reduce tensions.

No one, not even the Vice President, can guarantee that his election would assure a more productive superpower relationship or a more secure world. That outcome depends as much on decisions made in Moscow and other world capitals as on decisions in Washington. But with wise Presidential leadership our ability to influence events is enormous. The opportunity is there; whether we will seize it will depend on the choice we make on Tuesday.

Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs from 1982 to 1984, is president of Kissinger Associates, an international consulting firm.



FOREIGN AFFAIRS | Flora Lewis

U.S. Owes Israel a Warning

Those Israelis who are distressed at their country's election results are seeking consolation in the thought that nothing is final in politics. Many look now to the U.S., and especially to American Jews, to press for a reversal of what seems to be a decision against peace.

It is idle to think of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir as the hard-liner who will make the hard choice of turning around, as Charles de Gaulle did on Algeria, as Ronald Reagan did on dealing with the Soviets.

Mr. Shamir claims to stand by what he calls the "Camp David formula" and for peace. But he was against the treaty when it was signed, and has reinterpreted it now to fit his views. The provision for a regime of Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza was explicitly for a transitional period of five years, with the idea that a better climate would develop for definitive negotiations.

There was never any real effort to begin that transition. The climate now is only hatred, upheaval and bloodshed, with a promise of escalation. Mr. Shamir leaves nothing to negotiate, except with even more nationalist and extremist minor Israeli parties, which he needs to form a government.

The P.L.O.'s Yasir Arafat must feel relief. He deliberately delayed the impending Palestinian National Council until after Israeli and U.S. elections. Now pressures on him to make the hard choice that could have eased the way to negotiations will diminish. He can say there's no point, unless he chooses to summon a courage he has not yet shown. Once again, the extremes will be feeding each other.

To say the results of the vote were not surprising makes them no less de-

pressing. They confirmed trends that have been visible for several years, though the strength of the theocratic and messianic margin in the electorate was greater than expected. Israelis report that some fundamentalist leaders went to the point of assuring personal intervention with the Almighty on behalf of those who voted their way.

The basic choice was never really security. It was between the risk of seeking settlement now on compromise terms or, relying on force alone, the longer-term risk to the viability and durability of the state, with mounting brutality.

To be farsighted under stress is

A glory of quality, not size.

never easy, but to be shortsighted is the greater danger. The old Zionist dream is eroding in favor of a warrior-priestly state. The original impulse was to gather the Jews from millennial exile and oppression into a state where they would be normal citizens, free to build on ideals of justice and morality, to release their creativity and to be one among the nations of the world.

"Israel's glory will not be its size, but its quality — a Zionism of quality and not of acreage," wrote Yehoshafat Harkabi in his new book, "Israel's Fateful Hour." Mr. Harkabi, a former Israeli chief of military intelligence, is an ardent advocate of negotiating "peace for territory" with the P.L.O.

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Economic Scene

Leonard Silk

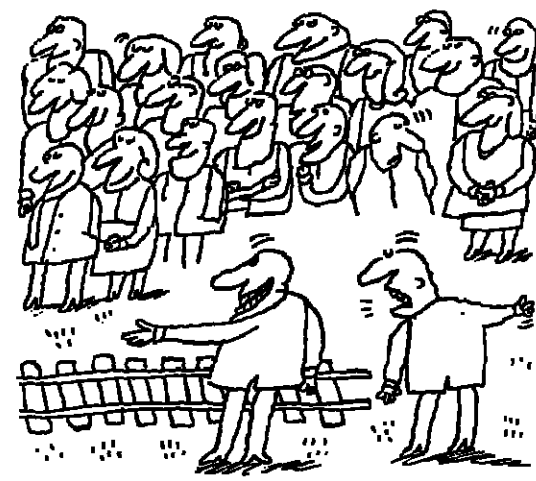
The Slowdown And the Election

AS the 1988 election campaign draws to an end, the evidence is accumulating that the American economy is slowing down. This week the Commerce Department reported that the index of leading indicators dropped one-tenth of 1 percent in September, the third decline in five months. Real gross national product, the broadest measure of the economy's performance, slipped to an annual growth rate of only 2.2 percent in the third quarter from 3 percent in the second quarter and 3.4 percent in the year's first quarter. The business mood has grown cautious: A Dun & Bradstreet survey of plant managers reports expectations of slower production and orders in the fourth quarter.

Will the slowing economy have any effect on the Presidential election? It seems unlikely. The economic expansion that began in November 1982 — the longest peacetime expansion ever — is continuing, and that is probably the strongest factor working for George Bush's election.

Michael S. Dukakis has sought to exploit the argument that the economy faces serious risks because the expansion has been financed by an enormous increase in debt, which imperils the nation, and, indeed, the Federal debt has grown to nearly \$2.8 trillion, from \$1 trillion eight years ago. But his effort has been weakened both by Mr. Bush's attack on him for spreading fears about the nation's future and by his own inability to convince voters that he has a solution to the debt problem better than his opponent's.

Mr. Dukakis has sought to exploit the trade problem, and its heavy dependence on foreign capital, as a populist issue, implying a highly nationalistic or protectionist solution, instead of forcefully attacking the budget deficit as a fundamental cause



Nicolai Ascu

of America's external weakness. But there is no way to be sure that forceful and candid economics would have worked in the present political and economic environment. The national debt is an abstraction that few voters seem able to comprehend or get excited about. The reality of growing family incomes and jobs unquestionably attracted strong support to Vice President Bush, heir of the long Reagan expansion.

Indeed, the Republicans' powerful attack on Mr. Dukakis, quite apart from its use of such issues as the pledge of allegiance, abortion, school prayer and the Massachusetts prisoner furlough system, focused on the warning that Mr. Dukakis would "take it away" — take prosperity away — especially by raising taxes.

Mr. Bush's "read my lips" line dramatized his pledge to say no to higher taxes, but he made that pledge explicit and vocal, over and over. It may come back to haunt him. Presumably, some sort of statute of limitations applies to campaign promises, but it is unlikely to run out in less than a year on Mr. Bush's commitment not to raise taxes.

Mr. Bush says his weapon for closing the budget

gap would be a "flexible freeze" on expenditures, but has not indicated what spending programs he would cut to offset the programs he would increase. He has attacked Mr. Dukakis's hints that he would cut some major weapons programs, but has not said how he himself would hold down military spending — a necessity if the budget is not to soar higher or unless taxes are to be raised. Both candidates have denied that they would cut Social Security.

Anxiety is spreading in the markets, both at home and abroad, that too little will be done by the next President to reduce the budget deficit — and that the United States trade and current-account deficits will not improve and could worsen. In the foreign exchange markets, that anxiety is pushing the dollar down, and the Federal Reserve and foreign central banks are trying to support it.

However, not just central bank intervention but higher American interest rates will be needed to support the dollar, if the budget and trade deficits persist, and higher interest rates would exacerbate the danger of recession. The chronic budget deficit puts the Fed in a bind: If it raises interest rates to support the dollar, it weakens the economy, and if it cuts interest rates to spur the economy, it weakens the dollar, raises inflationary expectations and threatens the financial markets.

There is a way out. A credible long-range plan for eliminating the budget deficit in the next four years would enable the Fed to bring down interest rates, without jeopardizing the dollar. It would increase national savings and make the dollar less dependent on foreign capital.

Greater savings and lower interest rates would spur real investment and help the United States regain the stronger rate of productivity growth essential to achieving long-run improvement in its foreign trade and economic leadership in the world. Building such a plan and selling it to Congress and the nation is the main economic order of business for the next President.

The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Kraft Is Purchased For \$13.1 Billion

Kraft agreed to a merger with Philip Morris in a deal worth \$13.1 billion. The price works out to \$106 a share, which is about \$40 more than the stock was trading at two weeks ago when Philip Morris announced its first offer of \$11.5 billion, or \$90 a share.

Kraft then came up with a special dividend package of securities it valued at \$110 a share, but had left the door open to outside offers.

The deal will put the Philip Morris chairman, Hamish Maxwell, at the top of the world's largest consumer goods company, displacing the British-Dutch company Unilever. Philip Morris's brands include Miller beer, Maxwell House coffee and Marlboro cigarettes and they will now be joined by Kraft's cheeses, Parkay margarine and Sealtest ice cream.

The deal ranks No. 2 in the record books so far, exceeded only by the \$13.3 billion Chevron takeover of Gulf Oil in 1984.

The stakes were raised in the RJR Nabisco battle. The management group made an offer of \$20.9 billion, exceeding the \$20.43 billion bid by Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts. The management offer came after a breakdown in its talks with Kohlberg, Kravis about a cooperative approach to a takeover bid.

The unemployment rate fell to 5.2 percent in October, from 5.3 percent in September. The rate had inched up during the summer but is now back down to the levels of the spring, which were the lowest in 14 years.

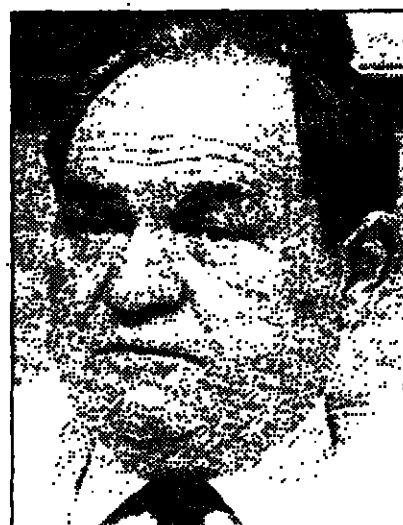
About 325,000 new jobs were created last month, with 100,000 of them in manufacturing. The jobs data were surprisingly strong but some less-robust statistics were reported last week. The chief gauge for predicting the economy, the index of leading indicators, fell 0.1 percent in September.

That was the third drop in a five-month period. Sales of new homes in September were off 7.8 percent, the largest drop since May. Retail sales in October were generally sluggish, although the long-depressed apparel sector showed some signs of reviving. Car sales were up 6.7 percent in late October, but that was in comparison to extremely slow sales in the 1987 period. Construction spending rose 0.6 percent in September.

Macmillan agreed to a \$2.5 billion takeover by the British publisher Robert Maxwell. The publishing company had been endorsing a slightly smaller bid led by Kohlberg, Kravis. But that plan suffered a serious setback from a court decision last week, and Kohlberg, Kravis withdrew the bid.

Macmillan, which publishes textbooks, provides information services and operates schools, had been trying to elude pursuers since the spring, when the Robert M. Bass Group bid \$64 a share.

The Maxwell offer amounts to \$90.25 a share. Maxwell also said last



Hamish Maxwell

week that he had reached an agreement with Dun & Bradstreet to buy the Official Airline Guide for \$750 million.

Bond prices plunged in the credit market's typical reaction to a stronger-than-expected report on employment. Signs of strength raised fears that the Federal Reserve may feel compelled to raise interest rates to curb inflationary pressures.

Friday's plunge in prices was enough to lift the rate on the 30-year Treasury bond from 8.75 percent to 8.9 percent. The stock market did not react as strongly as bonds but the Dow Jones industrial average still lost 24 points on Friday.

That put it at 2,145.80, off 4.09 for the week. A weaker dollar makes precious metals cheaper for foreign investors, and heavy purchases by Japanese buyers were cited as one reason for the surge in gold prices. They were up about \$10 an ounce, to around \$420.

Insider trading charges were brought against two Wall Street firms and three arbitrators. The indictment of Marcus Schloss & Company is the first instance in which a Big Board specialist firm has been charged with insider trading. Victor Teicher & Co. was also indicted on the charges that grew out of the 1986 "yuppie five" case.

In a separate case, Salim B. (Sandy) Lewis, a well-known Wall Street figure, and his brokerage firm were indicted on 22 counts of stock manipulation, conspiracy and other offenses.

The prosecution contends there was a conspiracy to drive up the share price of the Fireman's Fund insurance company. In both cases, the defendants said the charges were groundless.

Sears plans some big changes. The company intends to buy back \$1.6 billion of its stock; sell the Sears Tower in Chicago, which is the world's tallest building; sell part of its Coldwell Banker real estate subsidiary and take various cost-cutting measures.

Patents

Edmund L. Andrews

A Computer Recognizes Some Words

WASHINGTON — Computers that talk have been built into everything from toys to elevators. Getting them to listen, however, has been much more difficult.

The technical difficulty in recognizing spoken words is that people speak in different voices and with different accents. Humans can sift through these variations, but computers are programmed to recognize particular signals. Thus, computers capable of understanding different speakers generally need large memories and are expensive.

Now, Texas Instruments Inc. has used a series of statistical short cuts to invent a low-cost computer chip that understands a small vocabulary, regardless of speaker. The chip can also generate the sounds of a small number of words. A simple version of the invention has been built into two new children's games that recognize the words "yes" and "no." More sophisticated applications would include a chip for cars that could recognize words like "battery," "fuel" and "oil" and bark out words like "full" or "low."

The chip recognizes words by first making two rough measurements of incoming sounds, analogous to rounding off a number to the nearest million. The device measures the frequency of the sounds, but weighs it only in broad terms, like "very low" or "high." It then measures the energy of sounds (a T or a K has more energy than an M), and weighs it as either "high" or "low." The chip will then try to match the pattern of these rough approximations to that of the most similar word in its vocabulary.

Because of these short cuts, however, the device can become confused if given more than a small vocabulary. The maximum is no more than 20 words, company officials say, and each word must be quite distinct from the others.

Texas Instruments received patent 4,780,906.

Device Converts TV Set Into a Coloring Book

LJN Toys Ltd. of New York won patent approval this week for a device that converts conventional television sets into electronic coloring books for children.

The device works like a home video game, with a microprocessor controlled by two joysticks. One joystick controls a cursor to draw lines and curves and the other blends up to 16 colors. Plug-in cartridges contain software that displays uncolored pic-

tures from a coloring book. The company began selling the product, called Video Art, in 1987.

LJN received patent 4,782,335.

A Saliva Test Fixes Time of Ovulation

Harold J. Kosasky, a gynecologist and fertility specialist in Chestnut Hill, Mass., has developed a saliva test that lets women determine the time of their ovulation.

Pinpointing the time in the menstrual cycle when the ovaries release an egg can be critical in the effort to conceive a child. Women commonly detect that time now by monitoring changes in their temperatures and by examining the consistency of cervical mucus.

Dr. Kosasky said his invention was far more accurate than body temperature, and easier than checking cervical fluids. He said that saliva becomes thinner immediately before and during ovulation. His patent covers a mechanism that measures the saliva's thickness and elasticity. The device, he said, can eventually sell for as little as \$50 and be used in the home.

Dr. Kosasky received patent 4,779,627.

Pulling Heat and Smoke From Burning Building

James W. O'Donnell, a Chicago firefighter for the last 34 years, has

invented a device to suck heat and smoke from a burning building.

"The biggest problem in getting to the fire is smoke and heat," Mr. O'Donnell said. The inventor conceived the idea for his device after noticing that the spray from a fire hose creates a vacuum that draws smoke behind the hose.

The invention, which he has tested, is a pipe, connected to a hose, that can be set in a door or window. A nozzle pumps water in a diffused spray away from the burning room, pulling fumes behind it.

Mr. O'Donnell received patent 4,779,801.

Cigarette Puts Itself Out

An Indiana inventor won patent approval this week for a machine to make self-extinguishing cigarettes. The cigarette developed by Paul D. La Hue, a retired salesman and entrepreneur in Bloomington, Ind., contains a "fire wall" made of sodium silicate. When heat reaches that wall, at the cigarette's midpoint, the compound crystallizes and snuffs out the fire. The inventor's machine would be an add-on device for standard cigarette-rolling machines.

Mr. La Hue received patent 4,781,203.

To get a copy of a patent, send the number and \$1.50 to the Patent and Trademark Office, Washington, D.C. 20231.

INVESTING/Lawrence J. DeMaria

Playing Toy Company Stocks

With no new toy yet capturing children's fancy, analysts suggest sticking with companies that have steady sellers.

In past years, some lucky investors have made a lot of money by guessing correctly which new toys would be the hit of the Christmas-Hanukkah season. A trendy toy could be worth hundreds of millions of dollars in holiday sales to the lucky manufacturer, pushing up its stock price.

But analysts have long warned about the dangers of investing in the stock of a toy company dependent on only one or two products — a big liability given the notoriously fickle nature of the sandbox set.

Witness what happened to Coleco Industries Inc., the company based in West Hartford, Conn. When the Cabbage Patch doll craze fizzled, so did Coleco, which is now in bankruptcy proceedings.

So analysts typically have urged investors to stick with those companies whose products are perennially solid sellers. Such recommendations are particularly easy for analysts to make this year because at least at this point, there is no one toy that the nation's tykes are craving.

In general, toy industry analysts are lukewarm in their recommendations.

In the near term, said Harold Vogel, Merrill Lynch's toy analyst, "the toy manufacturing industry is by no means, in our opinion, a place that has any particular attraction for investors."

Many toy companies still have not recovered from a disastrous 1987, when — assuming the 1982-86 toy boom would continue — they shipped huge amounts of toys. But then toy sales, especially overseas, plummeted.

"Toy stocks are up 25 percent from the beginning of the year," but "that basically reflects a rebound from very depressed levels after the crash," said Laurie A. Lively, toy industry analyst at Op-

Toy Maker Stocks

As of close of trading, Thursday, Nov. 3.

Company	Percent Change in Price Since Dec. 31, 1987	Price/Earnings Ratio
Galoob	+181%	14
Hasbro	+21%	16
Mattel	+35%	-
Tonka	-4%	-
Tyco	+48%	7
Universal Matchbox	+53%	-
View-Master Ideal	-40%	-
S.&P. 500 Index	+13%	-

* Negative earnings in 1987.

penheimer & Co. Many toy stocks, she said, are fully valued now.

Investors will also not get much comfort from the listless third-quarter results that many toy manufacturers are reporting. Analysts note that the third quarter is crucial for toy companies, because that is when they ship their products to retailers for the Christmas season.

But given the generosity of doting parents and grandparents even during hard times, analysts are more bullish about the long-term outlook for the stocks of toy companies that produce steady-selling items.

At the top of most analysts' lists is Hasbro Inc., the nation's leading toy maker, with more than \$1.3 billion in annual sales. The company, which is based in Pawtucket, R.I., has a strong, venerable product line: G.I. Joe action figures, such as Milton Bradley games as Yahtzee and Game of Life; Playskool's Mr. Potato Head and Lincoln Logs.

While Hasbro had a mixed third quarter — revenues fell 7 percent, although the company remained highly profitable — analysts note that the company has a strong cash position and may grow through acquisitions. Hasbro's stock has been trading on the American Stock Exchange at a price-earnings multiple of about 16.

Some analysts also like Mattel Inc., a turnaround situation whose Barbie doll and Hot Wheel lines are perennial favorites. There had been concern about the company after a deep slump last year, and Mattel, which has annual sales of about \$1 billion, still carries a lot of debt on its balance sheet.

But Vogel said, "Expectations for the company and the stock are fairly low, and thus surprises are now more likely to be on the upside." He said Mattel's cash flow is improving and the company should start paying down the worrisome debt.

Mattel's stock, which has been trading between about \$6 and about \$10 in the past year, is currently trading at about \$9.50 on the New York Stock Exchange.

Despite its debt, "Mattel has generally been the one that people talk about as a potential takeover target," said Ms. Lively, adding that about 20 percent of Mattel's stock is owned by E.M. Warburg, Pincus & Co., the investment bank that has helped the company in past financial crises.

Other companies on analysts' lists as safer long-term investments include the following: — Tyco Toys Inc.: A diversified company whose Dino-Riders action figures are popular this year; other than Hasbro, Tyco, which is based in Moorestown, N.J., was the only major toy company to show a profit in 1987, Ms. Lively noted. The stock trades over-the-counter at about \$12.75.

— Universal Matchbox Group Ltd.: Its Matchbox miniature cars are always popular, and Ms. Lively said she expects this Kowloon, Hong Kong-based company "to break even this year and maybe earn some money in 1989." The stock trades on the Big Board at about \$7 a share.

— Lewis Galoob Toys Inc.: This San Francisco company has two promising toy lines, its Micro-machines line of miniature but highly detailed cars, planes and boats, and its Bouncin' Babies animated baby dolls. The stock trades on the Big Board at around \$7.50.

— The Tonka Corp.: Its Ghostbusters toys are still popular, and some analysts think its new Starling Lineup, miniature figurines of major league baseball players, might also be a home run.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED NOVEMBER 4, 1988

(Consolidated)

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng.
RJR Nb	20,202,300	85 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Sears	17,108,100	44 1/2	+ 1
South Co	14,291,600	22	+ 1/2
Kraft	13,622,100	103 1/2	+ 6 1/2
AT&T	9,523,400	28 1/2	+ 1/2
Tesco	9,279,200	46 1/2	+ 2 1/2
Reebok	8,199,500	13 1/2	+ 1 1/2
U Carb	7,249,500	26	+ 1/2
Gen El	6,419,400	43 1/2	+ 1/2
Philly	6,220,700	60 1/2	+ 1/2
Ford M	6,219,300	49 1/2	+ 2 1/2
IBM	6,184,800	120 1/2	+ 1/2
AMT	5,655,600	17 1/2	+ 1/2
Sec Pac	5,745,700	38 1/2	+ 1 1/2
G Mot	5,224,600	83 1/2	+ 1/2

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Unchanged	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
817	1,015	342	2,174	110	63
Week	1,167	274	2,166	148	64
Prev. Week	1,167	274	2,166	148	64

VOLUME

4 P.M. New York Close	Last	Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	752,756,003	35,790,930,983	
Same Per. 1987	1,080,817,870	41,344,498,028	

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High	Low	Last	Change
190.2	187.7	187.7	-1.46
142.4	139.8	140.8	-0.11
75.3	74.7	74.7	-0.18
133.8	132.4	132.4	-1.43
157.6	155.7	155.7	-1.09

New York Stock Exchange

Index	Last	Week	Year To Date
Industrial	190.2	187.7	-1.46
Transport	142.4	139.8	-0.11
Utilities	75.3	74.7	-0.18
Financial	133.8	132.4	-1.43
Composite	157.6	155.7	-1.09

Standard & Poor's

400 Indust 322.9 318.0 318.0 -2.58

20 Transp 222.8 218.0 219.9 +0.31

40 Utilis 114.7 113.2 113.3 -0.51

40 Financial 25.8 25.4 25.4 -0.39

500 Stocks 280.3 276.3 276.3 -2.22

100 Stocks 266.0 261.8 261.8 -1.97

Dow Jones

30 Industrials 2185.9 2125.3 2145.8 -4.09

20 Transport 945.8 914.8 929.7 +6.78

15 Utilities 189.1 185.2 186.1 +0.06

65 Composite 825.4 802.2 810.8 +0.87

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED NOV. 4, 1988

(Consolidated)

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng.
WangB	2,995,100	8	- 3/4
EchoBy	1,764,000	15 1/2	...
Amndhl	1,742,200	20 1/2	+ 1/4
LoTet	1,232,300	11 1/2	+ 1/2
TexAir	1,069,300	14	- 1/2
FausPr	890,500	13-16	+ 1/2
NY Time	884,700	27 1/2	+ 1/4
TIE	788,000	1 1/2	1/4
ImpOil g	773,100	38 1/2	-2 1/2
BAT	761,400	8	- 3/4

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Unchanged	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
331	495	221	1,047	38	73
Week	303	237	1,054	43	60
Prev. Week	303	237	1,054	43	60

VOLUME

4 P.M. New York Close	Last	Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	49,300,575	2,143,748,730	
Same Per. 1987	58,476,085	3,043,774,635	

Passionate prince

LONDON LETTER
David Horowitz

WHAT IS A king-in-waiting supposed to do with his time? Take a day job at McDonald's?

This faintly-blasphemous question was posed recently by Spike Milligan, veteran British comedian and long-time pal of Prince Charles, in one of a spate of articles devoted to the impending 40th birthday of the heir to the throne.

Charles turns 40 on November 14, and while he has passed up Milligan's idea of employment in a hamburger restaurant, he does at last appear to have found something to keep him occupied in the daytime. As of a couple of weeks ago, Prince Charles, that eccentric, serious-looking bloke with the big ears and the mildly flirtatious wife, has metamorphosed into a suave, confident and rather witty television personality.

Charles's emergence as a star of the small screen came in a BBC documentary in which he chatted passionately but easily about his great crusade - the architectural ruin of Britain.

He's been in the architects' blackest books for four years, since he accused them of arrogance at their own gala dinner and lambasted one of their more vaunted constructions as a "monstrous carbuncle" and another as a "giant glass stump." But these criticisms were but the mildest of scolds, compared to the assault he launched last Friday.

The reading room of the British Library, he told millions of viewers, looked like "an assembly hall of an academy of secret police." Birmingham's brand new convention centre was "an unmitigated disaster." And the just-built Yorkshire office of a major building society went down as "an out-of-scale monster."

As for the National Theatre, rising greyly out of the South Bank skyline, this resembled nothing so much as "a nuclear power station in the middle of London."

Charles's eyebrows all but disappeared into his receding hairline as he contemplated the National. He looked bewildered, agonized by the sheer concrete awfulness of the building. "I tried very hard to persuade myself to appreciate that," he said, "but I can't. I can't." There was no questioning the prince's concern, and in the aftermath of the programme it transpired that only the architects questioned his viewpoint.

National newspapers found that not only did virtually everyone feel the prince had every right to speak out, but also that a good three-quarters of the population fully agreed with him. Looking further into Charles's criticisms, they found that many of the housing schemes he had singled out for particular pummeling were indeed reviled by their inhabitants, while those few he praised were generally well-liked.

MAX HUTCHINSON, president-elect of the Royal Institute of British



Waiting in the wings: this understudy seems more than ready to take centre stage. (City Syndication Ltd.)

Architects, believes some of Charles's targets were unfair, that the profession had acknowledged many of its failures, that "lessons have been learned" and that "today's architecture is the better for it."

Today's architecture, however, is also demonstrably the better for Charles's past interventions. A proposed building he lambasted four years ago was subsequently scrapped, and architects all over the country are surely thinking twice before submitting plans for buildings that are ambitious in design but not particularly suited to their intended purposes.

Charles's passions extend far beyond architecture - to the environment in general, and notably to the underprivileged. And he is gradually making his mark in some of these areas too.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's recently developed interest in the environment - her well-publicized anxiety over acid rain and the ozone layer, for example - is said to have resulted from a conversation with the prince.

Slowly, it seems, he is shedding that awkward, out-of-touch image, and the British public is beginning to respond to his integrity - and to feel some compassion for a man clearly embarrassed by his own wealth and lifestyle and determined to play his part in alleviating some of British society's injustices.

After a tour of one particularly deprived inner-London borough last year, a reporter asked the prince how he felt about the rising number of homeless and ill-housed people. "Pretty bloody helpless," he replied then. One wonders whether the newly confident prince would give the same response today.

A poll in the wake of last Friday's programme found that 85 per cent of people thought Charles would make a good king. An overwhelming majority consider him intelligent, caring and honest, and most believe he should take over the throne in the next decade.

Spike Milligan says Charles feels "rather like a stand-in waiting for the star to fall ill or leave." When the time comes, it seems clear, the understudy will be more than ready to take centre stage, and the audience will probably love him.

NATO's Brussels headquarters was designed as a hospital. When the organization had to move out of De Gaulle's France in 1966, it simply took over the plans. Lord Carrington, who was secretary-general from 1984 until the middle of this year, maintained that his office was actually the matron's room.

Manfred Wörner, the new occupant, puts on an oblique smile. He reveals in Carrington anecdotes. "There's a difference between a British aristocrat and a small German bourgeois," he reflects. "The dimensions that did not fit him could fit me."

Lord Carrington is a hard act to follow. As one diplomat put it, "Carrington had weight and lent it to the job. Wörner has to create weight in the job."

The dapper Wörner, just turned 54, is the youngest man to hold NATO's top job, and the first German. It was felt that it was time for West Germany, as the alliance's most crucial front-line state, to fill the post. Wörner, then defence minister in Bonn and already well known to NATO colleagues, was an obvious choice: a Christian Democrat, former chairman of the powerful Bundestag defence committee, with the experience and dashing manner of a Luftwaffe reserve officer to boot.

In an alliance showing signs of being disconcerted by changes in the Soviet Union, here was a believer in the "defence first, dialogue second" approach - closer to hardline U.S. and British positions than those of his Bonn Cabinet contemporary, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the Free Democrat Foreign Minister.

However, among those allies that favour a tough approach and are anxious, for example, to press that with updating NATO's short-range nuclear weapons, there are fears that the new secretary-general, by too openly espousing their views, will become more of a contested figure in his own country.

Wörner does not much like being called a "hawk." He says he has never used the words "hawk" and "dove," and could be considered both.

"I think we have to develop a new concept of how we couch and present our defence efforts," he says, concerned that NATO should not lose credibility by exaggerating the kind of threat posed by Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union.

"Of course, there is no imminent threat of war. Gorbachev has other concerns... If we tried to convince people of such a threat, I think it would be unsuccessful and even counter-productive. You have to describe the threat in other terms, perhaps not speaking even of threat, but of the use of military power, military potential in peacetime."

What term, if not "threat," can NATO adopt to explain its case for strong and expensive security? "I have thought a long time" (Wörner intones this in a mock-tragic voice), "and I couldn't find one up to now."

HE IS ADAMANT that the organization has not simply become entrenched in old positions. "Nato was looking for change, was striving for the change, in fact kept the initiative. The conceptual edge we had all the way along." All the basic ideas for arms control, he argues, have come from the West. "What's happening now is a response to our success."

New Nato boss: I'm both hawk & dove



Nato Secretary-General Wörner: favours European unification 'in whatever form.'

David White

Work on the first draft of a "comprehensive concept" for arms control policy has provoked what Wörner terms "lively discussions" in the NATO council. "During these sessions I can only tell you that no body wants to sit back and just wait for what happens... I think there is a basic consensus that we should make use of every opportunity."

In specific proposals for conventional arms cuts, he says NATO will have "something very solid and concrete on the table" for the start of the planned new series of talks, even if it does "not satisfy everybody's hopes."

He reckons Gorbachev has an easier job. "He does not have to care about what all the other members of the Warsaw Pact think, whereas we have to try to get 16 sovereign nations agreed on one view."

"The Soviets always open negotiations with maximum proposals. For them, it is much easier to shift positions during negotiations." In democracies, he argues, it is hard to change tack once a policy has been aired in parliaments and in the press. "Perhaps our proposal will be less sensational, less public-opinion-

oriented, but it will be, I think, more serious and more lasting."

If Wörner has arrived at a time of relaxation on NATO's external front, it threatens to be far tenser on the internal front, as the U.S. Congress and Administration exert increasing pressure to make the rest of the allies pay more of the bill for defending Europe. NATO, says Wörner, has to work out "how to handle changes in East-West relations" and "how to handle changes in West-West relations," at the same time.

"This question of burden-sharing will not fade away," he recognizes. "We have to avoid two dangers. One is just to pay lip-service to burden-sharing and not show progress. The other danger is to pin expectations so high that you continuously fail and get bad reactions. It needs statesmanship."

He does not believe, however, that the U.S. will make a major cut in its military presence in Europe, whatever the outcome of next month's presidential election. To do so would create a vacuum. "I don't see anybody filling the gap if that happens. Who should do it? I cannot see a European power being able to fill the gap created by a substantial reduction of American forces."

Behind the wrangling over burdens, he says, lies the whole question of Europe's future role in defence - "a real political question of the highest importance." He is a self-professed European, favouring European unification "in whatever form."

Economic and political unity in Europe are in the interests of the alliance, including the U.S., he argues. But he is anxious that the single market should not become a protectionist force, and warns of the possible impact of European Commission plans to bring defence equipment into the system of common external tariffs.

High barriers against military imports from the U.S. would endanger the transatlantic relationship and touch on NATO's fundamental principles, he says. "If you call for indivisibility of your economic interests also, that means we have to fight protectionist tendencies."

Wörner does not side with those who call for a fresh definition of NATO's aims, set out 21 years ago in the so-called Harmel Report.

"I think there is no need for a new philosophical impetus," Wörner says. "The basic structure and philosophy 'are sound, have worked, have produced results and have had an incredible success.'"

(Financial Times)

Imported snippets

CONVERSATION IS said to be a lost art. Yet it does persist. Endlessly, everywhere, puffed out into the air as - what, art? craft? Hardly even that. Mostly it's a mechanical exchange: Hi, how're things? OK, great, how's it with you?

Still, exchanges may be profitable: or at least the transactions may leave their mark. Looking over the imports I brought back recently from America, I find among them an assortment of conversations.

One is a distillation of three conversations: three friends on the West Coast worried, separately, about how I was managing on the West Bank. No, I explained gently, I don't live on the West Bank. I live in Galilee, where there's really no problem of the headline variety.

"But tell me," said one of these friends, who has been to Israel. "Don't they force people to live on the West Bank? The way they did when they settled the Negev?"

Don't judge misinformation too harshly. More and varied verbiage comes at us these days than ever before; and for all our involvement in things American, how many here could discuss intelligently, say, Custer's Last Stand?

The next is one I didn't take part in. It was an overheard public conversation - that is, a conversation, not a debate, on Public Television's *MacNeil-Lehrer Report*, between Barry Goldwater and George McGovern. Once upon a time,

CUTTING EDGE

HELGA DUDMAN

these two unsuccessful candidates in presidential elections, were respectively attacked as Fascist Rightist and Lily-livered Leftist.

Now, apparently the best of friends, they discussed the level of the current American campaign. "Hey, let's run against each other today and show them how it should be done!" one suggested.

And then, in a taxi to Kennedy Airport, once again a conversation with a yored driver. Those who know order taxis to the airport from one of the four "Israeli" services. They're called Gali, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa, and I've given them free publicity before because their prices are low and through some incredible cultural mutation they are efficient.

Say one word in Hebrew as you're getting the baggage into "Gali" or "Jerusalem" and you're in for a life story. This young man was very pleasant, but, I thought, suffering. Life in New York is hard and ugly if you don't have money, he told me, as though I didn't know. If you're rich, of course, it can be great. I certainly didn't ask if he was thinking of returning. I could tell he wasn't. On the other hand, his parents came to visit this summer - the family is originally from Damascus - and couldn't wait to get back to Givatayim.

A FEW HOURS later, on El Al's non-stop sardine-packed run to Ben-Gurion, we had a nearly non-stop conversational service provided by dozens of Hassidim. I happened to be sitting next to two very well-mannered Israeli boys - high-school students returning after a month abroad at the city "twinned" with their home town. We read each others' newspapers and, just before the movie, vaguely discussed the elections there and here. "I'm considered pretty leftist," one of the boys told me. "I'm for Rabin."

Hours later the other boy returned from one of those airplane walks. "Say, there's quite a conversation going on back there," he reported. Some of the stewards were talking to one of the black-garbed boys aboard, of whom there were dozens, average age perhaps 11. "They're asking him what he studies. Practically nothing except religious subjects. And they asked what he wants to be when he grows up. All the poor kid could say was, 'Whatever the rebbe says.'"

Soon, a grown-up Hassid, indefatigably cheerful, was rolling up the aisles trying to prevail on every male aboard to try on the *tefillin* he provided and recite morning prayers. No, no, thanks anyway, said my boys. Thanks no, but we don't; thanks anyway.

Undaunted, he smiled, "Come on, it can't hurt, and it might help... Were all your forefathers so dumb and you're so smart?" A few hundred kilometres on, and both boys gave in. I was disappointed; but they were well brought up. I didn't earn so much as a glance, naturally, and therefore thought: how thankful one occasionally can be to have been created a woman.

Crossword

ACROSS

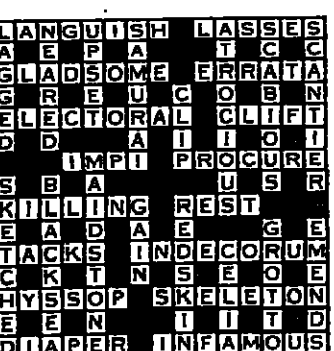
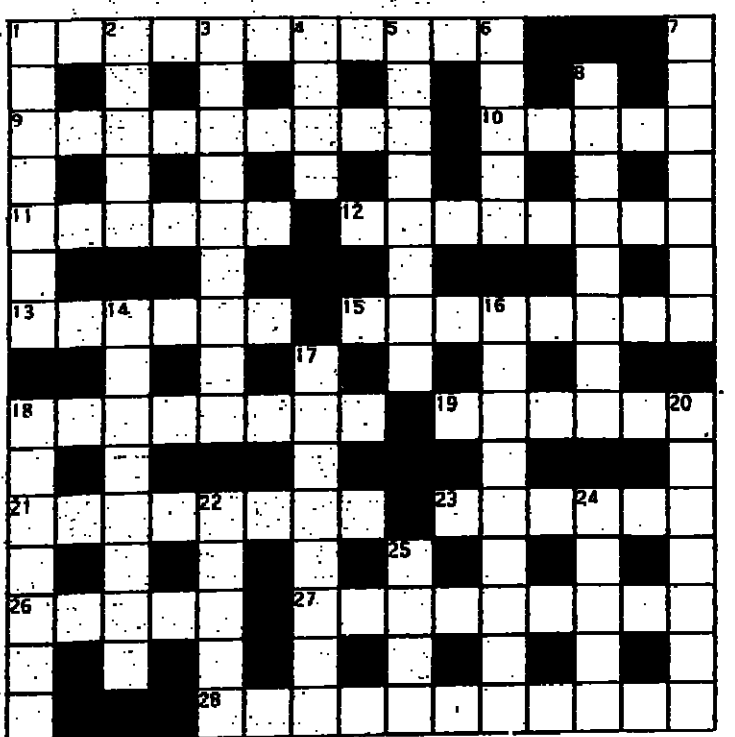
- 1 Dark, stout, hotel-worker on lathshift (5-6)
- 9 Haps of people are left in it (5-1)
- 10 Not well, going in doctor... that's the routine (5)
- 11 Soviet region does not begin to be favourite holiday peninsula (6)
- 12 Akenhead goes in to endanger what belongs to the Empire (8)
- 13 Where we go for air and spirit (5)
- 15 (Chai, for example, wrapping steak like a dowry woman (8)
- 18 Hotel up-off, where they charge for egg-beaters (8)
- 19 A fellow is a handsome youth (6)

DOWN

- 1 As in rate of exchange as well? (8)
- 22 Make a man of, say? (6)
- 26 Woman, getting rave review, will become timeless (5)
- 27 People have this thrust upon them in sergeants' mess (9)
- 28 On course, does he retain the pot? (5-6)
- 1 Springtime activity some of the most earnest in (Gravesend) (7)
- 2 Eat too much Cheddar, perhaps (5)
- 3 Filling to the brim is super at university (7-2)
- 4 Unrestricted, presumably, this Scottish resort (1)

5 Evidence of a slack washer? (8)

- 6 Crest of tail of bird given at Christmas (5)
- 7 Mistress who removed the locks? (7)
- 8 Army formation in mathematical operation (8)
- 14 Germaine, we hear, an aunt perhaps (8)
- 16 Parisienne finds motorway eating place (9)
- 17 Integral form of percussion instrument (8)
- 18 Principal method of making progress (7)
- 20 English poet begins to speak and think in French (7)
- 22 Maytime has no name for spray of flowers (5)
- 24 That body takes record for silly things (5)
- 25 One in study leads chapter (1)



QUICK SOLUTION

- ACROSS: 1 Yummy, 4 Chance, 7 Yachtman, 9 Lost, 10 Room, 11 Recap, 13 Wined, 14 Litter, 15 Joshua, 17 O-b-a-y, 19 Truth, 20 Time, 22 Fire, 23 Referees, 24 Wacky, 25 Squire, 26 DOWN: 1 Yellow, 2 Nest, 3 Kehool, 11 Casual, 5 Ajaz, 6 Farmer, 7 Youngster, 8 Nostalgia, 11 Rebel, 12 Finch, 15 Jigsaw, 16 Artery, 17 Otter, 18 Theory, 21 Well, 22 Eden.

Perfect companion

FUR, FINS AND FEATHERS / D'vora Ben Shaul

MY DOG IS unique. She's like no other dog in the world. She's of no specific breed, although there's a schnauzer somewhere in the family tree and possibly a dozen other breeds as well. I am certain that it was from neither mule nor jackrab-bit that she inherited her disproportionately large ears.

She's big and clumsy and frolicsome, and it is just not possible to look at her without smiling. She is also intelligent, obedient (sometimes) and most of all, of course, she adores me. She is such a strange dog that one of my friends maintains that I made her myself as a spoof on dog breeders.

Like a grandparent with snapshots, I tell you this because I want to stress again that a dog does not need to be a purebred in order to be a perfect companion.

When I took Sassy in, I did not know that she would grow to be a big, gawky, calf-like creature; nor did I know that her flopping ear appendages would stand up in a way that would make a German shepherd breeder green with envy. But then, I wasn't looking for any special characteristics in a dog. In fact, I wasn't even looking for a dog!

Other than the predictability, there is really no advantage to the pedigree dog over the mixed breed. The care is - or should be - absolutely the same, and the joy you will get from your animal's company will be the same.

There is one thing I should like to mention, however. Sassy is a wonderful dog and I would not wish her other than she is, but she will have no puppies. In the mixed-breed dog there is just no justification for

breeding and producing more unwanted puppies. This is also true of at least 70 per cent of the pure-breed dogs, for the shelters are full of unwanted dogs of obviously pure breed. Most of the bitches that produced them should have been spayed from the start.

Spaying does not make a bitch lethargic or fat or do anything else that harms her. It just means no more puppies. If a bitch is well cared for, exercised properly and not overfed, she will suffer no ill effect. In fact, spayed bitches usually live longer.

This is especially important because most people do not realize that the situation that caused such a scandal concerning the killing of dogs at the SPCA shelter in Tel Aviv is the fault of owners who produce unwanted puppies and then give them away like trinkets, often to children whose parents do not want them and throw them out. Or, in some cases the unwanted puppies are taken to another town or a kibbutz and dumped, the owner feeling righteous and good because "at least we didn't kill them."

To serve you better, ELAL is currently renovating the Tel Aviv Advance Check-In Service terminal.

Due to these renovations, the terminal (next to the Central Railway Station on Arlosoroff Street) will be closed from November 1, 1988 to January 31, 1989. During this period, we will continue to offer Advance Check-In Service at EL AL's Ben-Gurion Airport ticket counters. We apologize for any inconvenience.

For your information, ELAL Advance Check-In Service will continue to operate as normal in both Jerusalem and Haifa.

Jerusalem: Center 1, 49 Yarmyahu Street (corner of Jaffa Road, near the Egged Central Bus Station).
Haifa: 80 Ha'atzmaut Street.





Strained loyalties

THE BRITISH rule of Kenya, portrayed in the recent film *White Mischief* as a decadent colonial playground, is viewed from another angle in *The Kitchen Toto*, scheduled to open this Friday.

The backdrop here is the early days of the Mau Mau uprising, which eventually led to Kenya's full independence in 1963. The main character is Mwangi, a young boy from Kenya's dominant Kikuyu tribe, whose preacher father is murdered by Mau Mau radicals after he objects to their violent methods. Mwangi is taken into the home of the local British police chief and made a kitchen "toto" (servant). He forms a friendship with the police chief's young son, but finds his loyalties strained by the increasingly violent struggle for Kenya's

PREVIEW Calev Ben-David

independence.

The Kitchen Toto, produced by Golan-Globus, is the feature film debut of its writer-director, Harry Hook. A graduate of London's National Film School, the 28-year old Hook grew up in Kenya.

Describing the inspiration for his film, he says "I spoke a lot to the people who worked for my parents, and what emerged was that most of the ordinary people had the problem of double allegiance. On the one hand, they were working for the Europeans, yet at the same time they were also black Africans.

"The problem with double allegiance, of course, is that you inevitably find yourself on the wrong side," says Hook. It was this problem of double allegiance that fascinated me, and that is why I decided to centre my first film on it. It could have been Germany during World War II or the American Civil War instead of Kenya; these situations have always come into play for ordinary people during extraordinary situations. But I chose Kenya because I grew up there and understand the people, what happened, and why.

The Kitchen Toto stars Bob Peck, the British stage actor who appeared in acclaimed BBC series *Edge of Darkness*. Making his film debut as Mwangi is young Kenyan newcomer Edwin Mahinda.

RUMOURS are rife that Zubin Mehta, who will leave his post as music director of the New York Philharmonic in 1991, and Andre Previn, whose contract with the Los Angeles Philharmonic expires the same year, will simply trade places. Neither the Indian-born maestro, who is also under attack in Israel, nor Previn, who left Nazi Germany as a child, are taking the speculations seriously.

AND OTHER rumours to the contrary: Laurence Olivier is fine, having been discharged from a British hospital after routine tests following a kidney operation last year.

The 81-year old actor is "quite fit," according to the duty officer at the Royal Sussex Hospital in Brighton.

THAT INDESTRUCTIBLE girl from Brooklyn, Barbra Streisand, has scored again with her 40th album, *Till I Loved You* is a lush, romantic LP that celebrates the joys of new love on side 1 and the sorrows of ending love on the flip side.

THE DOCUMENTARY *Anne Frank: The Last Seven Months* is being hailed by Dutch and American critics as a Holocaust film whose impact is likely to rival *Schindler's List*.

As seen through the eyes of seven women who were with Anne Frank in Auschwitz and covering her final days in Bergen-Belsen, the film begins where Anne's diary left off, just before her arrest by German police.

The film's maker is Willy

All change for Mehta, Previn?

HOLLYWOOD / Tom Tugend



Philharmonic swap: neither maestro is giving the rumours much credence.

Lindwer, son of a Polish Jewish family who, like the Franks, sought to find refuge in Holland. He was born just after the liberation, his parents having been hidden by Dutch farmers.

Rachel van Amerongen Frank-



Philharmonic swap: neither maestro is giving the rumours much credence.

fooder, like the six other witnesses in the film, had never talked publicly about her experiences before. When Van Amerongen, who now lives in Israel, saw the film in a special screening, she said, "I cried for the first time." I didn't know I

could do that - cry."

AUSTRIA IS again being haunted by its Nazi past through the controversial play *Heldenplatz* (Heroes' Square) by Thomas Bernhard. Its opening has been delayed because six actors have walked out of the production, for as yet unexplained reasons.

However, President Kurt Waldheim has already labelled the play "an insult to the Austrian people," because it portrays most Austrians as virulent anti-Semites who were overjoyed when Hitler annexed their country in 1938.

FILMING is expected to start next fall on the first American production to be shot entirely in the Soviet Union. Locales are to include two military installations and the Mosfilm studio, the largest in the USSR.

Courage is based on the true story of a Soviet soldier whose mysterious death during the Brezhnev era followed his refusal to change his personal beliefs, despite the insistence of his military superiors. The leading role will be played by an as-yet unnamed American, supported by British and Russian actors.

THE MAKERS of adult/porno movies may not be big on subtle character shading, but credit them with a flair for inventive titles. Moonlight Productions announces the forthcoming *The Last Temptation of Kristi*, while Shapiro Glickhouse Entertainment is distributing something called *Frankenhooker*.

Mighty drama

Music reviews

lesque, in which the composer seems to overcome his despair and projects a gay, exuberant mood. Mullova displayed a breathtaking technique. The cadenza was stunning, the whole performance a triumph.

Sanderling's "Pastoral" became a hymn to nature. Each single instrument in the orchestra became a member of a huge choir - the orchestra as a whole - singing the praises of nature.

The second movement dragged slightly; the finale was not joyful enough. But the sound Sanderling extracted from the orchestra, the transparent texture he elicited, the extraordinary beauty of the solo passages, the woodwinds and horns, which created a rare balance and blend, more than compensated for a few negligible shortcomings.

Without doubt, Sanderling is one of the great conductors of our time. We would like to see him back here at the earliest possible moment.

Benjamin Bar-Am

Gilad Yaron - soprano, Allan Sternfeld - piano. Messiah: "Harawi," (text by composer). Rubin Academy of Music, Jerusalem, Nov. 2.

A RARELY-HEARD, important early work by French composer Olivier Messiaen (b. 1908), one of the 20th century's most influential teachers and theorists, was presented by two artists who are faculty members of the Jerusalem Rubin Academy of Music.

The entire programme of about 70 minutes was devoted to *Harawi* (1945), a Peruvian-Indian work meaning "song of love and death," a song cycle of 12 poems in French. Ostensibly an "exotic" work, Mes-

siaen's musical vernacular is drawn from the vocabulary of 20th century French music, heavily influenced by Stravinsky and Schoenberg, augmented by colouristic effects derived from his studies of birdsong and South American folklore.

This music proceeds by contrasts, building formal structures through shifting relationships between dissimilar phrases; this thought process owed much to Stravinsky (i.e. *Le Sacre*), mirroring Messiaen's dualistic vision of love as both a heavenly beatitude and a beastly, turbulent, earthly passion.

An attractive, evocative and engaging work, Messiaen's disarmingly accessible and communicative style conceals his preoccupation with sound used as texture in varying masses and densities - colouristic onomatopoeic effects (bird calls, imitation bells, undulating animal cries) alternate with human speech framed in the sophisticated melodic inflection of French Impressionist art song (e.g. Debussy, Fauré).

Correspondingly, the piano score alternates dreamy, static, added note sonorities with frenetic melodic flourishes, chirping rhythmic *ostinati*, and disjointed percussive clusters.

This is a tour de force for voice and piano, with Gilad Yaron's full, rich soprano exhibiting a stylistic elan that bespeaks her study of the work with the composer himself. Allan Sternfeld was the perfect collaborator - aggressively incisive, yet at the same time compassionately supportive. Their authoritative performance was a connoisseur's delight.

Max Stern

TSIPPI FLEISCHER, composer, Hadassah Ben-Hayim, soprano;

Wendy Eisler-Kasbi, flute; Sarah Fuxon-Hayman, piano; Orly Lavon-Tuvia, guitar; Jehosh Hirschberg, moderator. Zionist Confederation House, Jerusalem, November 5.

TSIPPI FLEISCHER (b. 1946) is one of the few sabra composers whose aesthetic openly embraces Arabic elements in Israeli culture as source material for her creative endeavours.

Her two new works on the programme were for magnetic tape. "The Gown of Night," is an experimental three-minute collage, based on recordings of sixth-grade Beduin children whispering, speaking, reciting, and chanting an Arabic text by Mohammed Ghannim in various combinations from solo to unison ensemble. More cohesive (i.e., building to a climax and fade-out) is "In Armenian Mountains," a three-layered collage on an Armenian text by Hovhannes Inamayan, for narrator, and a girls' choir chanting a Gregorian-type tune in parallel seconds, decorated by a solo clarinet.

Instrumental works on the programme included "In Chromatic Mood," a series of sparse, rhythmic gestures, loosely related in chromatic melodic lines, performed inside and outside the piano; a four-movement suite for solo guitar, "To the Fruit of My Land," which rambles in a stream of consciousness improvisation, making use of varied textures and techniques ranging from oriental to popular-jazz guitar; and "Girl Butterfly Girl," an often-performed, picturesque song cycle on texts by Syrian and Lebanese poets in Hebrew translation.

The performers and performances were first-rate in every way and did Fleischer proud. Her beguiling ideas, framed in attractive works of minor proportions, contain sparks of originality which need to be tendered through elaboration and expansion if her vision and aspiration are to attain mature artistic expression.

Max Stern

THE SEASON has barely started, but this concert will undoubtedly be remembered as one of the season's peaks. Sanderling raised his baton, and we were immediately immersed in the mighty drama of the "Coriolan" overture. Tension was so great that one hardly dared to breathe.

Sanderling cut the chords as if with a guillotine. The pauses between them became frightening and foreboding, and Beethoven's poetic content revealed a terrifying struggle. And then, of course, there was the sound, which became an extremely important factor in the interpretation. Not only did we get total homogeneity, precision of pitch, togetherness and rhythmic accuracy; the orchestral sound seemed almost unrecognizable, compared to what we have become accustomed.

The violin concerto was no less of an experience. The emergence of the whole truth of Shostakovich's tragedy as a composer in the Soviet Union has necessitated a total re-evaluation of his works. The first and third movements of his violin concerto, withheld by the composer till after the death of Stalin, reveal the terrible trials of a tormented soul. The movements are sad, forlorn songs, barely audible and deeply moving, sounding hesitant to emerge from deep darkness into light.

Violinist Viktoriya Mullova showed complete identification with the music. Her instrument sang a touching dirge, the elegy of an isolated soul. The concerto deserves the highest praise for the quality of her cantabile.

In the scherzo and the final Bur-

Spock's back

LEONARD NIMOY, who went from playing Mr. Spock on television's *Star Trek* to directing hit movies, says it is good to be just an actor

again - and Mr. Spock at that.

"I was fantasizing about this when I was making *The Good Mother*," Nimoy told *The New York Times* during filming of *Star Trek V*. "Nimoy comes to work and says, 'Where's the coffee?' What time is

lunch? Why are you keeping me waiting?"

Co-star William Shatner, Nimoy's shipmate as Captain Kirk, is the director of *Star Trek V*. Nimoy himself directed the two previous films in the series. His latest film, *The Good*

Mother, stars Diane Keaton and Jason Robards.

"I feel like I've been struck by lightning," Nimoy said in the interview. "But I feel like I've been standing out in a rainstorm for quite a while, and I finally got hit."

Anti-Semitic TV advert reinforces stereotypes

LONDON / David Horowitz

A FAST-TALKING chap with a faint foreign accent guides his bank manager around his thriving wedding-gown manufacturing business.

He goes to pick a sequin on the floor and remind a young female employee that such materials are too costly to waste. Then he introduces his sales manager to the man from the bank, waves him away, and confides to the banker that "he's billing me with his expenses."

Finally, he invites the banker into his office to hear details of a small business management scheme the

bank - the Midland as it turns out - is offering.

This is the content of a 70-second television advertisement the Midland Bank has been airing frequently in the last few days. The advertisement is a number of Jewish groups. A Jewish students' spokesman appeared on television recently to lament the ad's perpetuation of the myth of the "stereotypical mean Jew who displays totally fake emotions to his employees, and then talks about them behind their backs." It could only fuel anti-Semitism, he said.

Initially, the Midland refused even to confirm that the manufac-

turer was based on a Jewish character (indeed, this correspondent originally took him to be Italian) but eventually it admitted that this was the case. However, the Midland insisted that the advertisement was intended to show "an enthusiastic, energetic entrepreneur, who wants to expand his business. We felt that it was a compliment to the Jewish community."

A bank spokesman saw no difference between the Midland commercial and a series of British Telecom advertisements, in which Jewish actress Maureen Lipman plays a variety of lovable, if rather overbearing, maternal Jewish characters.

It is understood that about 100 people have complained to the bank and the Independent Broadcasting Authority about the ad, but the IBA decided this week not to order its withdrawal. The Midland, however, has said it will stop the ad when it ends its scheduled run next week.

TELEVISION

8.00 Teletext 8.05 Keep Fit 8.15 Geography of *Erez Yisrael* 8.40 No Scores 9.00 English 10.30 A Moment With Dodi 11.00 Arabic 11.15 English 11.30 Algebra 12.00 English 13.00 Talmud 13.23 Geography 13.42 English 14.00 Teletext 14.05 Ark 2 (Part 9) 14.30 "Katzit" 14.55 Family Relations 15.40 The Sun and the Moon - South America's Entertainment Stars (Part 4) 16.46 Side Path - Southern Golan Heights 17.00 A New Evening

ISRAELI TV
CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMES
17.30 Muppet-Babies 17.55 Taking the Lead - with Gidi Gov 18.25 There is a Place
ARABIC LANGUAGE PROGRAMMES:
18.30 News roundup 18.32 Sports Magazine 19.30 News

HEBREW PROGRAMMES resume at
20.00 News Roundup
20.02 My Family and Other Animals (Part 6) 20.33
On Wheels
21.00 Mabab Newsweek
21.35 A Year in an Hour - 1980
22.20 Second Look - Dukakis (Part 1)
22.30 Rumple of the Bailey (Part 4)
22.55 News, Sportscamer

ISRAELI TV CHANNEL 2
Due to Financial Difficulties, Channel Two will broadcast only songs tonight

JORDAN TV (unofficial)
17.30 Cartoons
18.00 French Hour
18.15 Sports Magazine
19.30 News in Hebrew
20.00 News in Arabic
20.30 Perfect Strangers
21.10 Enemy at the Door
22.00 News in English
22.30 TV Drama

MIDDLE EAST TV
13.30 Another Life
14.00 700 Club
14.30 Shape Up
15.00 Spiral Zone
15.30 Superbook
16.10 Fraggie Rock
16.30 Afternoon Movie: "Mission Bazar" stars Vera Miles and Dennis Weaver
18.00 Al Ihtiyar

18.00 World News
20.00 Magnum PI
21.00 NFL Football
23.00 700 Club
23.30 Another Life

RADIO

VOICE OF MUSIC

6.01 Musical Clock 7.09 Mendelssohn: Symphony No. 7; Grieg: Piano Concerto in A minor, Op. 16; Mozart: String Quartet No. 20 in D; Lalo: Symphony in G 9.00 An hour with composer Wilhelm Stenhammar (1871-1927) - String Quartet No. 5 in G "Serenade"; Sonata in A minor for Violin and Piano, last movement; Three Songs: "Summer Nights", five piano pieces; Sentimental Romance in F minor for Violin; Symphony No. 2 in G minor, third movement 10.00 Rossini: Sonata No. 6 in A for Strings (Italian Soloists); Rodrigo: Concerto de Aranjuez (Williams, Philharmonia); Fauré: Ariette; String Quartet No. 3 in E flat; Dvorak: "Amid Nature" overture (Lupu, IPO/Mehta); Brahms: Trio in E flat for Violin, Horn and Piano, Op. 40 (Perlman, Tuckwell, Ashkenazi); Chausson: Symphony in B flat, Op. 20 13.00 Light Classical Music 14.00 From the Tape Shelf - Chopin: Three Etudes and Two Mazurkas; Brahms: Clarinet Quintet, Op. 115 15.00 Anthology - Religious music from France and Germany 16.00 From the World's Concert Halls - North German Radio Symphony Orchestra conducted by Aldo Cicco - Beethoven: "Leonore" Overture No. 3; Beethoven: Concerto in D, Op. 61, arranged for piano; Schumann: Symphony No. 2 in C, Op. 61 18.00 "Behind the Compositions" - Beethoven and Mahler concertos 20.05 Telemann: Sonata in F minor for Recorder and Harpsichord 20.30 Lily Tunes, soprano; Yigal Tunes, violin; Yonatan Zaki, piano - works by Mozart; Aria for Voice with Violin Obligato from *Regina Coeli*; Sonata in B flat for Violin and Piano K454; Three Songs for Soprano and Piano; Fantasy for Piano in C minor, K.475; Sonata for Violin and Piano in E minor, K.304; Aria for Soprano with Violin Obligato from *Il Pastorale* 22.15 Musica Viva 23.00 Light Classical Music

RADIO ONE

6.06 Gymnastics 6.16 Hassidic Songs 6.30 Daily Mishna, Gemara and Bible Portions 7.00 News in English 7.15 News in French 7.30 Songs of the Good Old Days 8.05 Compass 9.05 Information for Listeners 10.05 Morning Pearls 11.05 Hebrew Songs 12.05 Mideast Medley 13.00 News

and Programmes in English 13.30 News and Programmes in French 14.06 Youth Magazine 15.30 Everyman's University - Jerusalem in the Byzantine Period 16.05 Son of The Land 17.00 News in English 17.02 News in French 17.05 Songs for the Afternoon 18.05 Jewish Tradition 19.00 Programmes for Olim 22.05 Every Man Has a Star - with astrologer Ilan Pekar 00.00 News

RADIO TWO

6.05 Early Morning 6.30 News roundup 6.52 Green Light - drivers' corner 7.00 This Morning - News Magazine 8.05 Safe Driving 8.05 House Call - With Rivka Mischali 10.05 All Shades of the Network 12.05 O.K. on Two 13.00 Midday - News Commentary, Music 14.06 Humour 15.05 Songs and Homebrew 16.05 Hebrew Songs 17.05 Music Moments 17.55 Book Review 18.05 Weekly Education Magazine 19.00 Today - Radio Newsweek 19.35 Hebrew Songs 20.05 Songs and Baskets 21.00 Mabab TV Newsweek 21.30 Songs and Baskets 23.05 Quizzes 01.00 News

ARMY

6.05 University on the Air - Genetics 6.30 Open Your Eyes - songs, information 7.07 "707" 8.00 Good Morning Israel 9.05 In the Morning 10.05 Hebrew Songs 11.05 Right Now 13.05 Daily Sounds 14.05 Daily Meeting 15.05 Festival Songs 16.05 Hebrew Songs 17.00 Good Evening Israel 18.05 Monthly Military Literature Magazine 18.45 Foreign Affairs Magazine 19.05 Creating a Star 20.05 Songs by Yitzhak Klepper 21.00 Mabab TV Newsweek 21.30 University on the Air (repeat from the morning) 22.05 Popular songs 23.05 This Was The Day 00.05 Night Birds

ARMY TWO

19.05 Daily Music Magazine 20.05 Basketball Magazine 22.05 Coffee Break 23.05 All That Jazz

CINEMA

JERUSALEM
BEIT AGRON 6.30 Stand by Me 6.45 Crocodile Dundee 10.10 9½ Weeks
THEQUE 7 Far From the Madding Crowd 9.30 Sans Soleil 9.45 Who Minded Edson 4.30, 6.45, 9 Die Hard IMPERIA 1 5, 7.15, 9.30 Babette's Feast IMPERIA 2 5 Peking Opera Blues 9.15, 9.30 The Fountainhead JERUSALEM THEATRE 7, 9.30 Tucker KFR 4.30, 6.45, 9 Midnight Run MITCHELL 7, 9 Bright Lights Big City ORGIL 4.30, 7, 9.15 Good Morning

Vietnam ORION OR 1 4.30, 7, 9.15 Frantic ORION OR 2 4.30, 7, 9.15 Princess Bride ORION 3 4.30, 7, 9.15 Defence Play ORION OR 4 4.30, 7, 9.15 Laugh-O-Mat The Last Emperor ORION OR 5 4.30, 7, 9.15 Deadly Pursuit ORION 4.30, 7, 9.15 NICO RON 4.30, 7, 9.15 SEMADAR 7, 9.15 C'erevamo Tanto Amati

TEL AVIV

ALLENBY 7.30, 9.40 Stars and Bars BEIT LISSON 11.15 The Man Who Knew Too Much BEN-YEHUDA 5, 7.15, 9.30 President CHEN 1 4.15, 7.20, 9.35 Die Hard CHEN 2 5, 7.20, 9.30 Frantic CHEN 3 5, 7.30, 9.30 Deadly Pursuit CHEN 4 11, 2, 5, 7.30, 9.30 Stand and Deliver CHEN 11, 2, 5, 7.30, 9.30 Changing Places DEKEL 7.15, 9.30 Big DIZENGOFF 11, 11, 1, 3, 5, 7.30, 9.30 Cafe Bagdad DIZENGOFF 11, 11, 1, 3, 5, 7.30, 9.30 Peking Opera Blues DIZENGOFF 11, 1, 3, 5, 7.30, 9.30 My Sweet Little Village DRIVE-IN 7.30, 9.30 NICO 12 sex film ESTHER 5, 7.30, 9.30 Blue Jeans Cop GAT 5, 7.20, 9.30 Good Morning Vietnam HAKOLUNA 200 HOUSE 4.15, 7, 9.15 Parades of Vines 9.30 The Beauty of Sin MOD 5, 7.15, 9.30 Action Jackson ISRAEL CINEMATHEQUE 7 The Council of Love 9.30 Short Israeli films LEV 12, 5, 8, 10 La Vie Est Un Longue Fleuve Tranquille LEV 12, 5, 8, 10 Stormy Monday LEV 12, 5, 8, 10 Due to that War LEV IV 2, 5, 8, 10 Princess Bride LIMOR HAMEHUDASH 5, 7.15, 9.30 Colors MAXIM 5, 7.30, 9.30 Born to Laugh NEW GORDON 5, 7.20, 9.30 Babette's Feast ONLY 5.45, 9.15 The Unbearable Lightness of Being PAINS 12, 2, 4, 7.15, 9.30 Anna PEER 5, 7.30, 9.30 Shadows of the Peacock SHAHAF 4.30, 7, 9.30 TAMAR 7.15, 9.30 TAYELET 1 4.45, 7, 9.30 House of Games TAYELET 2 5, 7.15, 9.30 Bull Durham TAYELET 3 5, 7.15, 9.30 Coming to America TCHETEL 5, 7.30, 9.30 The Commissar TEL AVIV 7.15, 9.30 Hero and the Terror TEL AVIV MUSINE 4.30, 7.15, 9.30 Summer at Grandpa's ZAFON 4.30, 7, 9.30 Tucker

HAIFA

ATZMON 1 4.30, 7, 9.15 Blue Jeans Cop ATZMON 2 4.30, 7, 9.15 Hero and the Terror ATZMON 3 4.30, 7, 9.15 Tucker CAFE MORIAH 5.15 Coming to America 7.15, 9.15 Lady Eve CHEN HAMEHUDASH 4.30, 7, 9.15 NICO CINEMATHEQUE The Tin Drum 9.30 Dress Rehearsal KERNON OR HAMEHUDASH 4.30, 7, 9.30 Sweet Movie ORAN 4.30, 7.00, 9.30 Masquerade ONLY 7, 9.15 Cafe Bagdad PEER 4.15, 6.45, 9.15 Die Hard RAV-GAT 1 4.15, 6.45, 9.15 Good Morning TAMAR 7.15, 9.30 TAYELET 2 4.30, 7, 9.15 Big RAY-OR 1 4.15, 6.45, 9.15 House of Games RAY-OR 2 4.15, 6.45, 9.15 Frantic RAY-OR 3 4.15, 6.45, 9.15 My Sweet Little

Village RON 4.30, 7, 9.15 Midnight Run SAVION 6.45, 9.15 Black Eyes SHAVIT 7, 9 Due to That War

RAMAT GAN

LILY 7.30, 9.30 Babette's Feast OASIS 5, 7.15, 9.45 Die Hard ORDEA 7, 9.30 Midnight Run RAV-GAN 1 5, 7.20, 9.50 Good Morning Vietnam RAV-GAN 2 5, 7.20, 9.50 Frantic RAV-GAN 3 5, 7.30, 9.50 Princess Bride RAV-GAN 4 5, 7.30, 9.50 Blue Jeans Cop

NETANYA

DOR HECHAL HATARBUT 7.15, 9.30 L'Ami de Mon Amie ESTHER 5, 7.15, 9.30 Hero and the Terror STUDIO NETANYA 5 Mein Bester Freund (German dialogue) 7.15, 9.30 Good Morning Vietnam

HOLON

ASHKON HAMEHUDASH 6, 9 The Unbearable Lightness of Being MIDGAL 7.30, 9.40 Die Hard SAVOY 4.30, 7, 9.30 Midnight Run

BAT YAM

ATZMAUT 5, 7.15, 9.30 Hero and the Terror GIVATAYIM HADAR 5, 7.15, 9.30 Hero and the Terror

PETAH TIKVA

G.G. HECHAL 1 4.30, 7, 9.30 Midnight Run G.G. HECHAL 2 5, 7.15, 9.40 Hero and the Terror G.G. HECHAL 3 5, 7.15, 9.40 President

RAMAT HASHARON

KOCHAV 7.15 Born to Laugh 9.30 Switching Channels

HERZLIYA

DAN ACCADIA CINEMA CLUB 7, 9.30 Frantic DANIEL HOTEL (The Auditorium) 7.15, 9.30 A World Apart DAVID 7.15, 9.30 Flowers in the Attic HECHAL 5, 7.15, 9.30 Blue Jeans Cop NEW TIFERET 7.15, 9.30 Stand and Deliver

KIRYAT ONO

COMMUNITY CENTRE 4.30 The Crazy Jungle Adventure 7 Salsal 9.15 Suspect

RISHON LEZION

G.G. RON 1 4.30, 7, 9.30 Midnight Run G.G. RON 2 5, 7.15, 9.30 Big G.G. RON 3 5, 7.15, 9.30 House of Games MOFTERON 9 Masquerade

BEERSHEBA

CHEN 7.15, 9.30 Presidio HECHAL HATARBUT (Labour Council) 4.30 Space Camp 7.15, 9.30 La Vie Est Un Longue Fleuve Tranquille

CALYPSO RAMLE Planning a Simha?

Maybe a wedding?
a bar mitzvah?
an anniversary dinner?
a company get-together?
a brit mila?

Before you decide, may we suggest you check

A pre-election chill cools market fever

The arrival of November plunged the stock market from a raging fever into a cold sweat.

In the wake of "takeover fever," which swept through Wall Street in October's final days, a chill settled in this past week when the market began to nervously count down the days until tomorrow's presidential election. Many institutional investors clung to the sidelines, leaving the field to professionals and putting a damper on trading volume.

The Dow Jones average of 30 industrials barely stirred all week, finishing with a net loss of 4.09 points at 2,145.80.

Although Wall Street expects George Bush - its favored candidate - to win, there's been enough uncertainty to keep investors on edge. Political poll-watching seems to have replaced technical chart-watching for the moment.

The market came to life briefly on Thursday, when the shaky dollar stabilized and the Dow average brushed against the 2,178 mark before ending the day at 2,170.34.

Then on Friday, new unemployment data showing surprising strength in the economy drove the blue-chip indicator down 24.54 points. The government reported that the nation's jobless rate fell to 5.3% in October, the lowest level in 44 years, as the economy created more than 300,000 jobs.

Through most of the week, anticipation of the jobless data had given the market another thing to worry about and deepened its pre-election anxiety.

"People sort of threw in the towel for this week," said Philip Puccio, a senior vice president of Dillon, Read and Co. financial firm.



Once the boopla of the election is over, Wall Street probably will pick up where it left off before the takeover frenzy hit - worrying about interest rates.

Early in the week, many observers had been expecting the Federal Reserve to keep credit policy and interest rates stable in the near future. Recent signs that the economy is slowing and inflationary pressures are easing would make the Fed loathe to push interest rates higher, they believed.

That view gained credence Monday when Martha R. Seger, a member of the Fed's Board of Governors, estimated that the U.S. economy has slowed in the third quarter and will grow by 1% to 2% next year.

Seger told the Economic Club of Detroit that recent economic data have allayed fears of rekindled inflation.

But a recent slide in the dollar raised concern that the central bank could nudge interest rates higher to bolster the U.S. currency. Although the dollar steadied late in the week, the fear of higher rates was rekindled by Friday's unemployment figures.

"The level of short-term interest rates remains the most important likely determinant of stock prices," says Robert J. Nurock, publisher of the *Astrute Investor* newsletter out of Paoli, Pennsylvania. "Lower short-term rates would help stimulate business."

Besides the stagnant Dow, other readings for the week showed the New York Stock Exchange composite index down 1.38 at 155.70, the NASDAQ composite index for the over-the-counter market down 1.75 at 381.02, and the American Stock Exchange market value index off 2.28 at 297.52.

Volume on the NYSE averaged 150.50 million shares a day, down from 170.03 million the week before.

(Associated Press)

Antwerp fights to regain its diamond market

ANTWERP, Belgium (Reuters) - Antwerp has launched a determined campaign to prove it is a cut above its rivals in the fiercely competitive world diamond market.

The business community in this Flemish port has adopted the show-biz slogan "Antwerp - a diamond's best friend" to boost the city's role in the trade it once dominated.

Antwerp's diamond merchants, who buy and sell the stones, have never had it so good.

"This may be the only trade in the world in which Belgium is number one," said Marc van den Abeelen, general manager of the country's Diamond High Council.

But the cutters and polishers, who since the 15th century have transformed the rough stones into brilliant gems, are only just recovering from a major crisis.

Competition from abroad, especially from newly industrializing nations where labour is cheaper, pushed the city's diamond factories to the brink in the early 1980s.

"When people realised this industry was going down the drain, it took them four years to adapt. No one believed five years ago how bad it was," van den Abeelen said.

Once the world's only diamond-cutting centre, Antwerp is now one of 30. The workforce, 20,000-strong in 1970, has dwindled to just over 6,000.

India and Israel are the biggest challengers but Sri Lanka and Thailand have also been eating into Belgium's markets since they can process the world's hardest stone at a fraction of European Community costs.

Some Belgian manufacturers have set up factories abroad to take



Abraham Fischler, president of one of Antwerp's four diamond bourses, examines rough stones.

advantage of low wages and non-union labour.

Despite the problems facing its cutters, Antwerp remains by far the major centre for trade in both rough and cut diamonds.

It hosts four of the world's 20 diamond bourses which last year handled 85% of the world's rough and half its polished stones. Diamonds account for 6% of the country's exports, and 2% of its gross national product.

Antwerp expects turnover this year to rise about 8% to about 400 billion Belgian francs (\$10.8b.).

Sea trade routes from India, the world's first known source of diamonds, brought the industry to the port, and the skill of the Flemish craftsmen went unchallenged for centuries.

Ironically, many of the world's cutters and polishers were trained in Antwerp.

"That's both a compliment and a disadvantage. We made magicians of the students, now they're competitors," Walter Baert, a spokesman

for the Diamond High Council, said.

Manufacturers are investing heavily in high-technology equipment which Baert admitted could lead to more redundancies, but he said top technicians would stay in demand.

"We have the best skilled people in the world. We have a better cut, better quality, better service," Abraham Fischler, president of the Beursvoor Diamanthandel (diamond trading bourse) said, noting it takes six years to train as a polisher.

But Antwerp has been too shy about promoting itself.

"You go to the United States, they think Antwerp is in Holland. We're not aggressive enough," Fischler said.

Hence the campaign to keep Antwerp's star high in the world market.

The Diamond High Council has collaborated with city authorities and rough stone suppliers to stage jewellery design awards, exhibitions and conferences.

Jordan clamps down on consumer imports

AMMAN (Reuters) - The Jordanian government ordered a one-year ban on a string of consumer goods ranging from cars to artificial flowers Saturday in a drive to cut next year's trade and budget deficit.

The state-run news agency Petra said the measures, which took effect yesterday, were aimed at saving up to \$200 million in imports of luxury goods.

Other measures ordered by the cabinet include a 10% tax on food and accommodation at four- and five-star hotels and restaurants, increased customs tariffs on luxury commodities not affected by the ban, higher annual fees paid by Arab and foreign labourers to get working permits, and a bigger travel tax on people leaving the country.

The budget deficit rose to 40.6 million dinars (\$90 million) in the first quarter of this year against 71.3 million dinars (\$158m.) for the whole of 1987, according to official figures.

The trade deficit reached \$700m. in 1987 and foreign exchange reserves hit a record low of \$18.7m. in April before edging back to \$67.7m. in August.

Petra said the ban on imports until the end of next year involved cars and trucks, television sets, videos and video cameras, air conditioning units, domestic and office furniture, microwave ovens, marble and artificial flowers.

Duty on a number of other consumer and luxury items would be increased by an average of 30% a senior official said.

Jordanians and foreigners leaving the country would face a rise of more than 30% in the departure tax.

Egypt rejoins Arab industrial development group

BAHRAIN (Reuters) - Arab industry ministers have agreed to re-include Egypt in the Arab Organization for Industrial Development.

At a two-day meeting in Bahrain which ended late last week, the ministers agreed to re-admit Egypt expelled following its 1979 peace treaty with Israel.

Dollar facing a fall

The dollar closed higher Friday following the release of stronger-than-expected U.S. employment figures for October. The unemployment rate fell to 5.3%, a 14-year low, as 323,000 new jobs were created.

The financial markets were taken by surprise and Euro-dollar rates rose 0.2%. The dollar surged to a high of 1.7970 marks as dealers rushed to cover short dollar positions. But the U.S. currency then retreated as selling came close to the important 1.80 mark resistance level.

For the week, the dollar gained 1% against the mark, lost 0.5% against the yen and closed barely changed against sterling.

Over this period, the currency market was characterized by erratic and directionless price movements. On Monday, the U.S. currency recovered strongly as the Federal Reserve joined the Bank of Japan in buying dollars. Those two central banks continued their interventions throughout the week, managing to hold the dollar above the 1.7650 mark and 124.50 yen levels.

Bulgarian black market dollar soars as gov't relaxes rules

SOFIA (Reuters) - The dollar may be in the doldrums on the capitalist world's foreign exchange markets but its value is soaring on Bulgaria's black market.

As the dollar falls in the West with speculators worrying about the United States' bloated trade and budget deficits, new relaxed rules for Bulgaria's Corecom shops, where luxury goods are sold for hard currency only, have boosted the black market cost of a dollar from five leva a month ago to about seven now - almost nine times the official rate.

"Nobody asks where you got your dollars from any more," said a visitor. "More and more people are buying dollars on the black market to get goods at Corecom shops."

Western diplomats said the new regulations for these shops, where foreigners and Bulgarians can buy anything from a bottle of whisky to a car or a flat, ironically appeared to be aimed at sucking hard currency out of the black market into the state's coffers.

Until recently Bulgarians had to use special coupons, available only to people who could prove they obtained their hard currency legally, to buy goods at Corecom which were



Moreover, all the economic data released last week point to a slowdown in the U.S. economy, with bigger budget and trade deficits. In addition, a new administration is likely to put a downward pressure on the dollar in order to reduce the trade deficit. For the short-term the dollar is still oversold, and calls for a possible correction. This correction could either trigger more dollar sales or create a short-term feeling of stability. We feel that the balance lies with a possible renewed weakness of the dollar.

The column appears courtesy of the Boaz Barak Advisory Service.

Dutch tulip trade still growing after 400 years

HILLEGOM, the Netherlands, (Reuters) - When business gets hectic on the Amsterdam stock exchange, dealers might be heard talking about "tulip trade."

They are referring to an extraordinary 17th century episode known as tulip mania, when speculation in tulip bulbs became so frenzied in the Netherlands that fortunes were made and lost in a day.

Tulips, the country's national symbol, are still big business here for the world's largest producer and exporter of flower bulbs.

This year the country grew about nine billion bulbs and with an 80% share of the world export market, it earned almost one billion guilders (\$500 million) from sales abroad.

"Tulips are a useful symbol for boosting our country's image abroad, but they also make a significant contribution to the national economy," said Robert van Waveren, president of the International Flowerbulb Centre, which promotes the sale of Dutch bulbs in more than 100 countries.

As bulb production increases at home, more than doubling in the last 15 years, Dutch exporters are keenly looking for new outlets beyond their traditional market base in Europe and the United States.

However some countries, such as Australia, are proving insensitive to the charms of bulbs.

The Australians ban all foreign plants for fear of imported viruses and would not accept a gift of flower bulbs from Dutch Queen Beatrix when she recently visited their country.

The Dutch, also the world's number-one sellers of cut flowers, cultivate at least 1,000 bulb varieties, including gladioli, lilies, daffodils and hyacinths.

But by far the most important crop is the tulip, grown in every colour, shape and size on nearly half the country's 16,000 hectares (40,000 acres) of bulb fields.

Few bulbous plants originate in the Netherlands. The tulip was brought to Europe from Turkey in the 16th century.

It is generally believed that the bulb boom has its roots in the 1590s, when Carolus Clusius, professor of botany at Leiden University, first planted a tulip in the Netherlands.

The bulbs thrived in the sandy soil along the North Sea coast between Leiden and Haarlem, a narrow strip of land about 50 km long which is

China acts to stamp out gold riots

BEIJING (Reuters) - China is to force at least 300,000 self-employed gold prospectors out of business to halt gold riots, rampant smuggling, and ecological devastation, official reports said Sunday.

The move follows bloody gang warfare between miners and near-starvation among Tibetan peasants whose lands have been ruined by a Klondike-style gold rush this year in a remote area of northwest China closed to foreigners.

The *Peking Daily* said the ban was issued Saturday by the State Council, China's highest governing body. It quoted officials as saying this was necessary to stop "disruption of social order ... and damage to the national interest."

The government is losing huge amounts of revenue because prospectors supposed to hand over their finds to the state for 1,200 yuan (\$320) per 50 grams instead sell to private dealers, often from Hongkong, for three times as much.

The *Daily* said authorities would confiscate the licences of some 300,000 legal prospectors and prosecute the thousands of other illegal self-employed miners.

The *Legal Daily* reported last month that an influx of some 80,000 prospectors into parts of Qinghai, northwest China, had wrought ecological havoc and triggered violent riots.

Seven died when rival gangs used mining explosives, guns and shovels in a pitched battle over the right to prospect one stretch of land. In another incident police had to open fire on a stone-throwing mob of illegal miners, killing one.

In Qinghai's sparsely-populated Qumalai county, Tibetan herders are threatened with starvation or death from cold this winter because prospectors ruined their pastureland and stole animal dung fuel. *Legal Daily* said. Tibetans threatened to take up arms against the immigrants after prospectors desecrated a local sacred mountain by mining it for gold, the paper said.

The low state price means Qinghai authorities only succeeded in purchasing 100 kg of an estimated 4,000 kg of gold mined in the province this year, it said. Miners themselves are exploited by violent gang-bosses who levy arbitrary taxes.

Western journalists were refused permission to visit the area.

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